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Open Boundaries

Jain Communities and Cultures in Indian History

Edited By John E. Cort

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## Acknowledgments

This volume represents the result of a lengthy collaborative process. The initial seeds of the volume were planted in a 1987 dinner conversation concerning a possible conference panel among Ralph Strohl, Vasudha Narayanan, and myself. This conversation was widened for the purposes of the panel, which was held several years later at the 1991 University of Wisconsin-Madison Conference on South Asia and included papers by Ralph Strohl, James Ryan, Richard H. Davis, and myself, with Charles Hallisey and Indira V. Peterson as respondents. Richard H. Davis and I cowrote the position paper for that panel, which is quoted in the introductory chapter. The conversation was further widened at the next stage, a four-day workshop held in summer 1993 at Amherst College. In addition to the ten chapters (2-11) published here, papers were also presented at Amherst by Olle Qvarnström, Holly Seeling, Ralph Strohl, Peter Flügel, and Ellison Findly. Phyllis Granoff and Padmanabh Jaini had planned to present papers, but were unable to attend. Other participants at the workshop were John Carman, Charles Hallisey, Janet Gyatso, Jack Hawley, Dennis Hudson, Whitney Kelting, and Anne Monius. Subsequent to Amherst the ambit of the conversation was narrowed to result in the present book, although the quality of those contributions not included here is indicated by the publication elsewhere of the papers by Ellison Findly, Peter Flügel, Phyllis Granoff, and Olle Qvarnström\*

In addition to all of the authors and other respondents who have helped create this book, I would like to thank the following: the anonymous reviewers for the State University of New York Press for their comments; Wendy Doniger for her determined commitment to include this book in the Hindu Studies series she edits for SUNY Press; David Ford and Zina Lawrence of SUNY Press for their editorial oversight of the production of the book; Jennifer Cross for preparing the index; Janet Gyatso for providing funds for the Amherst workshop from the Hamilton Fund administered by the Amherst College Religion Department; and Charles Morris for two small grants from the Denison University Research Foundation Contingency Fund to support the Amherst workshop and other production costs.

JOHN E. CORT  
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Notes

\*The following essays from the 1993 workshop at Amherst College had been published elsewhere:

Granoff, Phyllis. forthcoming. "Patrons, Overlords, and Artisans: Some Comments on Intricacies of Religious Donations in Medieval Jainism." In *Sir William Jones Bicentenary of Death Commemoration Volume. Bulletin of the Deccan College Post-Graduate Institute*, edited by V. N. Misra.

Findly, Ellison. 1997. "Jaina Ideology and Early Mughal Trade with Europeans." *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 1:288-313.

Flügel, Peter. 1997. "Power and Insight in Jain Discourse." In *Doctrines and Dialogues: Syncretic Torrents in the Religions of South Asia*, edited by A. Henn and H. van Skyhawk. Heidelberg: Southern Asian Institute.

Qvarnström, Olle. 1998. "Stability and Adaptability: A Jain Strategy for Survival and Growth." *Indo-Iranian Journal*.

Chapter One  
Introduction  
Contested Jain Identities of Self and Other

*John E. Cort*

*how is it possible to imagine that you can continue to answer to your name whatever name that is in a serious way or that you can maintain a continuous consciousness and have a sense of its boundaries unless its tested against something that opposes and isnt it*  
(antin 1993, 94)

*In an important sense, we are dealing with the formation of cultural identities understood not as essentializations (although part of their enduring appeal is that they seem and are considered to be like essentializations) but as contrapuntal ensembles, for it is the case that no identity can ever exist by itself and without an array of opposites, negatives, oppositions: Greeks always require barbarians, and Europeans Africans, Orientals, etc.*  
(Said 1993, 52)

I

Quotations such as these two could be multiplied, all to the same intent: a sense of self-identity, whether in terms of the individual person or a social group, is never constructed in isolation, but rather is always a contextualized

process, in which the sense of "self" is in dialogue, opposition, or dialectical relationship to a sense of what is "not-self" or "other." 1 This insight underlies *Open Boundaries*.

Constructing a book on the Jains around the premise that the Jains have always been active participants in larger contexts, and that therefore any adequate understanding of the Jains and Jainism must take into account both the larger contexts and the forms of Jain participation in those contexts, would hardly seem to represent a radical move. Yet, in the history of Jain studies over the past century-and-a-half, it does to a significant extent represent a new departure. The authors of the chapters in this book were invited to contribute studies that investigated Jain authors, texts, narratives, rituals, temples, institutions, and ideologies in highly specific contexts, in which the who, what, when, where, and perhaps even why of the situation could be stated with a fair degree of certainty. In other words, the authors were asked to contribute what in ethnographic parlance can be called "thick descriptions," or in historiographic parlance "micro-histories." Moreover, the authors were asked to provide studies that investigated the Jains not in isolation, but rather in situations where they were in explicit or implicit interaction with the larger non-Jain social, cultural, and intellectual world of South Asia. The methodological thrust behind these two prerequisites studying the Jains (1) in specific contexts, and (2) of wider interaction can be seen in the initial statement of purpose drafted by Richard Davis and myself for the 1991 conference panel which preceded *Open Boundaries*:

We begin with the frank acknowledgement of the current marginality of Jain studies within the broader field of South Asian studies. At its simplest, our goal is to encourage and increase the study of the Jains. But it is not simply a matter of increasing quantity. Jain studies has historically been an intellectual ghetto, largely isolated from South Asian studies. We do not intend merely to enlarge the size of this ghetto. Rather, we wish to avoid approaches that constitute studies of the Jains as a subfield somehow separate from South Asian studies.

We start with the recognition that the exclusion of the Jains from most studies of South Asia has had deleterious results in terms of our understandings of both the Jains and South Asia. At its simplest and most radical, the argument behind this project can be stated as follows: when one views the Jains within a South Asian context, the resultant portrait of the Jains is strikingly different from the received portrait, and equally the resultant portrait of South Asia is strikingly different. This project, then, is seen as participating in the ongoing, never ending efforts of scholars to improve our understandings of the Jains in particular and South Asia in general.

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In addition to expanding academic awareness of the Jains by augmenting the amount of data that is easily accessible, this project also aims at questioning the inherited models by which the Jains have traditionally been viewed and represented in scholarship, both Western and Indian. These models are in part responsible for, as well as reflective of, the marginal status of Jain studies. In particular, there are two inherited models which appear to dominate the representations of the Jains.

The first of these is Jainism as the "poor sister," as an essentially marginal, unimportant heterodox group. This model is best seen in the innumerable contentless references to the Jains in the compound, "Buddhists and Jains . . ." The assumption is that by understanding something of the Buddhists one knows all one needs to know about their "darker reflection" (the phrase is Louis Renou's [1953, III]). As an inherently marginal and unoriginal tradition, the impact of the Jains upon Indian social, religious, and intellectual history can safely be dismissed. As a minority ascetic tradition, it is incapable of influencing political institutions or developing a mass popular following. Thus, the Jain tradition is characterized as boringly ascetic, austere, unimaginative, and so forth.

The second model is Jainism as a fundamentally unoriginal movement, the history of which is essentially a history of passive reception of Hindu influences. All innovation can be ascribed to Hinduism, which is a dynamic and changing tradition. Influence moves in only one direction, from the active Hindus to the passive Jains. This is related to a degenerationist model, in which a supposedly pure, original ur-Jain doctrine is contrasted with the later impure, degenerated Jainism largely composed of half-understood and ill-digested Hindu influences and accretions. It is a powerful Orientalist doublebind: "pure" Jainism is defined as conservative and unchanging, and all innovations are portrayed as degenerations. Original Jainism is the essence of Jainism, and historical Jainism consists in falling away from that essence. That this portrait in significant part corresponds to one Jain self-identity

further strengthens the doublebind.

The participants in this project seek to locate Jain materials in a more dynamic, reciprocal, and interactive relation to South Asian society. We view Jains as active contestants and participants in socioreligious debates, struggles, and movements, not as either marginal outsiders or passive subjects to the will of others. Accordingly, we are interested in the shapes and stratagems of Jain polemic and Hindu counter-arguments,

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representations of Jains by others and others by Jains, the social placement of Jain authors and individuals, and the like. We investigate the interactions between Jains and non-Jains on the social, political, ritual, aesthetic, and intellectual levels. We focus on instances of Jain interaction with non-Jains in which the specifics of who, what, when, and where can be filled out with the sort of specificity usually lacking in studies of influence and interaction in South Asia.

## II

In a stimulating essay, first published in 1972 and justifiably republished twice, the sociologist T. N. Madan (1994) investigated the ways in which the Muslims and Hindus of Kashmir constructed their social identities in the period before the "ethnic cleansing" of the past decade. Internal distinctions within each group were based on two sets of quite different categories, but these categories largely disappeared when Madan turned to each group's representations of the other. From the ideological perspective, to Hindus all Muslims were outsiders (*mleccha*), while to Muslims all Hindus were unbelievers (*kafir*). Both Muslims and Hindus considered the other to be morally inferior, but the criteria of moral worth differed. For the Muslims, the criterion was acceptance of the Muslim creed, whereas for the Hindus the criterion was ritual purity.

The model of Kashmiri society that results from Madan's analysis is quite complex, as the social facts were guided and interpreted by rather different ideologies, to such an extent that it is difficult to say if there are any significant common social "facts." The two ideologies shared an attitude of mutual exclusion. But, as Madan perceptively observes, this well-known opposition resulted in a situation in which "both ideologies command identical behaviour towards non-believerstotal exclusionand in that sense are mutually reciprocal and reinforcing" (198). In terms of empirical relations, interactions between Muslim occupational groups and their Pandit clients were understood by the former to be economic transactions and by the latter to be ritual transactions. Mutual economic dependence was not matched by reciprocity of perspective. What resulted was a social system that was uniquely Kashmiri, and that encompassed two social orders and two social ideologies which could be accommodated only at a structural level.

Madan's study indicates some of the ways in which identities of self and other can be based on radically different social ideologies, so that the portrait one gains by looking at one group is dissimilar from the portrait gained by looking at the other group. Nonetheless it is possible for the two groups to coexist peacefully as long as the disjunctions in ideology and identity do not lead to disjunctions in social behavior. That this coexistence can be built upon fragile foundations is obvious in Madan's afterward to the 1994 reprint of the essay, in which he comments

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upon the severe communal strife between Muslims and Hindus in Kashmir in recent years, and the apparent end of time-honored patterns of coexistence.

Madan's study also alerts us to the pitfalls in studying the Jains from any overly restricted perspective. None of the chapters in this volume fully performs the dual task of Madan's essay, of studying both Jain perceptions of self and other, and the perceptions of self and other held by the non-Jain others. One can begin to construct such a complex dialectic by an intertextual reading of the chapters by James Ryan and Indira V. Peterson. Padmanabh Jaini's (1977, 1984, 1993) researches into Jain and Brahmana Puranic narratives as reflective of an oftentimes agonistic intertextuality also point toward what such a fuller portrait would look like. But the range of situations investigated in the chapters does indicate that there is in fact no single Jain sense of self, as there certainly is no single sense of other. The others with whom the Jains have interacted, and against whom the Jains have in part defined themselves, have been as varied as South Asian



history.

### III

Even in a single region, a diachronic study of the others with whom the Jains have interacted reflects the social and religious history of South Asia. To pick an example seen in a number of the chapters here, we see a complex history of otherness in western India. In the first millennium C.E., the Buddhists were powerful rivals to the Jains. This rivalry existed on both the social plane, as seen in medieval narratives of the interaction between Haribhadra and the Buddhists (Granoff 1988), and also on the philosophical plane, as Haribhadra and other Jain philosophers strove to account for the differences between Jain and Buddhist metaphysics. At the same time, Haribhadra is accepted to have been a Brahmana by birth, as were many other important Jain philosophers and mendicants throughout the centuries, starting with Mahavira's first eleven disciples, the *ganadharas*. When Haribhadra became a Jain mendicant, he renounced being a Brahmana in the ritual sense of performing the Vedic sacrifice. At the same time, in terms of caste as a biological classification, he remained a Brahmana. Categories of self and other can be at once contradictory (a Jain cannot simultaneously be a Brahmana) and encompassing (a Jain can simultaneously be a Brahmana). Christopher Key Chapple's chapter indicates a further sense of other in western India at the time of Haribhadra. To the extent that Haribhadra presented Jainism as being one among several yogas or techniques of spiritual liberation, he had to take into account those other techniques. Similarly, as Kendall W. Folkert (1993) and Olle Qvarnström (1997a) have discussed, Haribhadra was integrally involved in the Jain effort to map out the various possible alternative metaphysical systems to the Jains, both in terms of the systems actually encountered in South Asia (the various *darsanas*, usually characterized as six), and the number of systems theoretically possible (usually characterized as 363).

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In John E. Cort's chapter, we see that several centuries later the opposition between Jain and Brahmana continued to be a strongly defining one, in this case in terms of cultural understandings of what constituted kingship. But we no longer see in twelfth century Gujarat a strong sense of Buddhists as other; they have been replaced by the Saivas, in particular Pasupata Saivas, who vied with Jain mendicants for influence over the Caulukya kings. This religious rivalry with Saivas continued for many centuries; in the fifteenth century, Munisundarasuri, the leader of the Tapa Gacch, mercilessly satirized Saiva mendicants in his *Bharatakadvatrimika* (Dundas 1996, 153), indicating that at that time the Saivas were still the Jains' principal contestants for popular support in Gujarat.

The chapters by James E. Cort and Gary A. Tubb, which treat the great twelfth-century polymath Hemacandra indicate how a single wide-ranging intellectual interacted with *sastric* and *itihasic* Brahmanical authors when writing on political and aesthetic theory (see also Qvarnström 1997b). The chapters by Christopher Key Chapple and Paul Dundas also show Jain authors interacting with others as intellectuals in terms of the pan-Indian scholarly genre of *sastra*. This is a genre for which the Sanskrit language has always been the preferred medium. Language is an important marker of identity, both in terms of self (a common language denotes connection) and other (lack of a common language, or use of a private language, denotes separation). Paul Dundas (1996) has discussed some of the Jain attitudes towards Sanskrit and Ardha-Magadhi Prakrit. We find the early Jains privileging Ardha-Magadhi as the bearer of the Jain Agamas over against Sanskrit as the bearer of the Brahmanic Vedas. As Jainism became more than just a soteriology, but instead became what Frank Reynolds and Charles Hallisey (1989) have termed a "civilizational religion," the Jains transformed their tradition into a school of learning that encompassed subfields as varied as aesthetics, logic, tantra, politics, and yoga. They found that they could not ignore the pan-Indian intellectual language of Sanskrit. But the Jain authors redefined Sanskrit, treating it not as a sacred institution ontologically connected with the Brahmanas, but instead as a natural phenomenon that was humanly shaped. To establish that Sanskrit was the lingua franca of Indian intellectual discourse, and therefore available to all, instead of a sacred revelation available only to Brahmanas, Jains such as Hemacandra wrote their own Sanskrit grammars to replace the Brahmanical system canonized by Panini and Patañjali.

Throughout this same time period in western India there was another identity of self and other that strongly shaped Jain identity, this time with those martial groups that eventually coalesced into the dominant castes of Rajasthan, Saurashtra, and Kacch, the Rajputs. Michael W. Meister's chapter shows how this rivalry was expressed in narrative texts, in temple rituals, in diet, and in temple architecture and iconography. This was also a relationship with a strong temporal component, as Osval Jains insist that they, too, were once Rajputs, but were converted to the superior Jain path, and hence became Vaisyas or Baniyas. For the

Osval Jains, Rajput is an identity of other both in terms of who they are not in the present and who they were in the past.

Lawrence A. Babb's chapter on Jain ritual in Rajasthan further adds to the complexity of definitions of self and other by indicating ways in which past interactions can remain embedded in ritual patterns even when they are no longer socially apparent. The Saivas have not been significant players on the western Indian scene for several centuries, as they were largely displaced by various Vaisnava devotional groups, in particular among the merchant castes by the Pustimarg established by Vallabhacarya in the late fifteenth century. For contemporary Jains in western India the Pustimarg Vaisnavs are the most pervasively present others, precisely because Jains and Vaisnavs have intermarried for many centuries. But Babb's structural analysis of Jain temple ritual in Jaipur and Ahmedabad reveals a deeper ritual interaction with Saiva patterns, indicating that the many centuries of Jain-Saiva interaction in western India have left a lasting mark upon Jain understandings of ritual interaction with divinity.

Finally, Jains in western India have interacted in terms of social others with the Muslims for the past seven centuries, and more recently with Europeans for the past five centuries. The understandings on such basic theological issues as divinity, humanity, and diet erected barriers, so that the distinction between self and other was oftentimes marked more by difference than by similarity. But one has to be careful not to accentuate a sense of difference here, nor to read contemporary communal politics back into history without due consideration. 2 The recent work of Ellison Findly (1987) and Paul Dundas (1995) has shown that there was in fact a very creative interchange between Jains and Muslims in the Mughal court, and similar examples could be advanced from throughout the centuries of Muslim-Jain interaction.

The interaction between the Jains and Europeans has been similarly complex, and even less-studied than that between the Jains and Muslims. This has been an interaction at the socioeconomic level, as Jains were among the Indian merchants with whom the Europeans had their earliest dealings (Findly 1997). It has operated at the sociopolitical level, as Jains for several centuries had to deal with the British as colonial overlords, a relationship in which the Jain social location as bankers, traders, merchants, and eventually textile mill owners brought them into close association with the economic side of the Raj. Finally, it has been an ideological interaction, as in the past century-and-a-half, the Jains have had to respond both to evangelical Christian missionaries and to the full discourse of modernity, enlightenment thought, and the scientific method.

This is just one regional example of some of the ways in which the others with whom Jains have interacted have changed over the centuries, indicating a few of the ways in which Jain senses of self have changed in reflection of the altered contexts. Similar diachronic surveys could be conducted for Tamil Nadu, using among other sources the chapters by Ryan, Peterson, Orr, and Davis, or for Karnataka.

Focusing on Jain interactions with non-Jains could easily lead one to the mistaken assumption that the Jains constituted a single entity in the face of the larger social reality of South Asia. Clearly this has not been the case, as recent scholarship on the oftentimes vituperative debates and disputes among Jains has made clear. 3 The divide between Digambars and Svetambars goes back at least two thousand years, and the number of lawsuits and public quarrels in recent years, some even leading to violent encounters and deaths, shows that this is a powerful generator of a sense of otherness between Jain communities. Within these two broader traditions we find further divisions, sometimes sharp and sometimes soft, such as that within the Svetambars among Murtipujaks, Sthanakvasis, and Terapanthis. We also find that senses of self and other develop along the lines of caste. But even if Jains may find it difficult, if not impossible, actually to unite socially, we find, at least in the Gujarati language, that the possibility exists of a clear ideological distinction between Jains as self and non-Jains as other, as revealed in the linguistic dyad of *Jain* and *Jainettar*, "Jain" and "non-Jain."

#### IV

Another way to talk of this range of interactions, from agonistic to reflexive, is in terms of possible strategies for dealing with the very fact of otherness. A person, text, or community can adopt an exclusivist stance:4 the other is wrong, and the proper strategy is either to refute and convert or to destroy the other. There are instances where this has been the Jain strategy, and the strategy of non-Jains aimed at Jains. Haribhadra's boiling his defeated Buddhist opponents in oil (Granoff



1988), or the Saivas impaling eight thousand Jains at Madurai, as discussed by Indira V. Peterson, are perhaps the most graphic narrative examples of this strategy.

But a person, text, or community can also adopt an inclusivist stance: the other is correct, but only partly so, while the self is completely (or at least more fully) correct. In this case, we often find strategies that emphasize hierarchical formulations, which allow for the other to be subsumed and subordinated without being outright refuted or denied. This is a strategy frequently employed in the intellectual genre of *sastra*, in which the Jains have been avid participants from the time of Umasvati. The author of a *sastra*, whether it be on the subject of aesthetics, tantra, politics, or yoga, will arrange an encyclopedic survey of the field. In some *sastras* all the various schools or opinions may be ranked, with the author's own position established as superior. In other *sastras*, such as Haribhadra's *Yogadrstisamuccaya* or Hemacandra's *Kavyanusasana*, they will be presented as appearing to be equal. In this latter case, however, we can still see a hierarchical organizing principle, as the seemingly neutral author presents material in a way that presents his own position in the best light. Even the literary strategy of presenting the material in a seemingly impartial manner can be seen as a way of im-

explicitly stating that one is in fact superior to the others, since one strives to be fair whereas the others are quick to judge and rank.

V

Others are not only human others in social contexts. With the Jains we are dealing with a religious tradition, and with what Lawrence A. Babb terms a "ritual culture." Ritual interactions by definition involve a subject and an object, worshiper and worshiped, self and other. To quote Babb, any ritual involves a "ritual 'other,' the sacred being who is the object of the rite," or, as Babb goes on to say, a "sacred other." The others with whom people have engaged in ritual in South Asia vary widely, and since, in Babb's words, "the actor's sense of self is implicated in the interaction, for these encounters can and do generate a transformed sense of self," any understanding of the multiple senses of self one finds in South Asia must take into consideration the sacred others with whom those selves ritually interact.

In some cases, the other can be a fearsome and awesome being, one who is, in the words of Rudolf Otto (1950), *ganz andere*, "wholly other." Such was the Sacciyadevi at Osian described by Meister before her conversion to Jainism, a goddess who loved "to crunch and munch" on the bones of her animal offerings. But as the narratives related by Meister so clearly show, ritual interaction with a deity who demands animal offerings is unacceptable to Jains, and in response the Jains must either shun such ritual offerings or, in this case, convert the deity by convincing her to accept vegetarian offerings. We see in this story that Jains define themselves as those who offer only vegetarian worship, and worship only deities who accept such offerings, in contrast to others who offer animal offerings to meat eating deities.

By definition, the Jains are those who worship, venerate, and follow the teachings of the Jinas, in obvious and eponymous contrast to Bauddhas, Saivas, Vaisnavas, and Saktas, who maintain relationships with the Buddha, Siva, Visnu, and Sakti. The nature of these interactions reveals much. Babb cites the work of Richard H. Davis, showing that among Saiva Siddhantins the goal of the worshiper is to become Siva. Among the Pustimarg Vaisnavas, the goal is to enter into a permanent dependent relationship with Krsna. The worshiper donates the totality of one's being, "mind, body, and wealth" (*man, tan, dhan*) to Krsna, in return for which Krsna grants the worshiper both worldly success and eventual eternal heavenly concourse with Krsna. Both of these ritual paradigms contrast strikingly with the Jain understanding of a ritual relationship with a deity who cannot respond. As Babb observes, the nonresponsive, self-sufficient, totally autonomous Jina represents pure otherness, an otherness without any presence. Whereas Krsna in Pustimarg ritual is an "intimate other," Sacciyadevi before her conversion is an "antagonistic other," and Siva is a "powerful other," the Jina is an "exemplary other."

The transformations engendered by Jain ritual, therefore, are unlike those engendered through two-way interaction with Siva or Krsna; instead, the actions are reflected back upon the worshiper by a ritual other that is pure reflectivity, a mirror that absorbs and transforms nothing but rather shows the worshiper the truth of who he or she is. Differences in emphasis

on how one worships relate directly to differences in who the other is that one worships, which in turn lead to differences in the understanding of the self that does the worshipping.

## VI

In the case of the Jains, the dialectic of self-and-other is not restricted to the spheres of social and ritual relations. It is found in the form of a fundamental dualism at the very heart of Jain ontology and soteriology. Jain metaphysicians posit the existence of an infinite number of souls or selves (*ji va*, *atman*), which are nonsubstantial and characterized by consciousness (*caitanya*), bliss (*sukha*), and energy (*viryā*). Sentient soul is the first of the six elemental categories (*dravya*) that together constitute the whole of existence. The other five are insentient physical matter (*pudgala*), and the four insentient and immaterial categories of space (*akasa*), the principle of motion (*dharma*), the principle of rest (*adharma*), and time (*kala*). These latter five are frequently lumped together as non-soul (*ajiva*), indicating that beneath the list of six lies a basic dualism between sentient soul and insentient non-soul.

Bondage is precisely the state of connection between soul and matter, and liberation the cessation of any such connection. Jain teachers have emphasized different methods of effecting this disconnection; most have followed Umasvati's *Tattvartha Sutra* in emphasizing the simultaneous cultivation of right world view (*samyagdarsana*), right knowledge (*samyagjñāna*), and right conduct (*samyakcaritra*), whereas a minority position exemplified by Kundakunda has deemphasized conduct and focused upon knowledge alone (Johnson 1995b). But all are agreed that the state of liberation is marked by the total separation of any connection between soul and matter. Hence, the liberated soul is described as a *kevalin*, a being that is isolated, alone, autonomous.

This sense of a dualism between the self or soul as that which is integral and important, and everything else as other, is explicitly stated in various ways by a number of Jain philosophers. In fact, in various texts we find early Jain philosophers using the Sanskrit term *anya* (Prakrit *anna*) in a manner that would almost seem to presage contemporary postmodernist understandings of "otherness." Kundakunda, for example, discusses the dualism between self and other in several ways in various texts. In the *Pravacanasara*, a text aimed at delineating the bases of correct mendicant praxis, he shows how the correct understanding of this duality leads to that defining characteristic of Digambar mendicant praxis, nudity (*Pravacanasara* 3.4, Upadhye translation, pp. 24-25):

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"I do not belong to other, nor do others belong to me; there is nothing that is mine here": thus determined and conquering his senses, he adopts a form similar to that in which he is born.

In a slightly earlier passage of this text, Kundakunda uses the same language to address his characteristic concern with the self as pure knowledge, and nothing else, and the need therefore for mendicant praxis to be based less upon ascetic practices focused on eliminating karmic bondage and instead upon spiritual exercises that lead to salvific insight and self-realization (*Pravacanasara* 2.99, Upadhye translation, p. 23):

"I do not belong to others, nor do others belong to me; I am mere knowledge": he, who meditates thus in concentration, comes to meditate on his (pure) self.

In the *Niyamasara* (141-50), Kundakunda uses the dualism between self and other to stress the autonomy of self (Prakrit *appavasa*, Sanskrit *atmavasa*), which comprises liberation as opposed to a dependence upon others (Prakrit *annavasa*, Sanskrit *anyavasa*), which comprises bondage. Kundakunda goes on to explain that the autonomous self is the internal soul (Prakrit *antarangappa*, Sanskrit *antarangatma*), what we might call the "true self," whereas the dependent self is the external soul (Prakrit *bahirappa*, Sanskrit *bahiratma*), what we might call the "social persona." The duality between self and other is not only a matter of external relations, it is even internalized in terms of correct and incorrect self-understandings, what we might call "true and false consciousness" of the self.

Kundakunda was not the only Jain philosopher to use the opposition between self and other to explain the duality of soul and binding matter. The Svetambara Haribhadra, in the *Yogabindu*, uses *anya* as a shorthand for karma, the ultimate binding matter. He writes (*Yogabindu* 6, Dixit translation, p. 4):

A soul as a result of getting connected with something other than itself experiences worldly existence while as a result of getting disconnected from this something it experiences *moksa*.

Haribhadra is quite explicit that by "other" he is referring to karma, as later in the text (405-9) he alternates the terms "connection with something other" (*anyasamyoga*) and "connection with karma" (*karmasamyoga*). But for Haribhadra as for Kundakunda, the "other" is not merely material karma which stands in opposition to spiritual soul. It also can refer to the material aggregate of the body and mind in which the soul finds itself located. As the translator K. K. Dixit notes in a comment to verses 10-11 (p. 6), "By 'foreign element' [*anya*] he will usually mean Karmas. . . . Sometimes, however, this 'foreign element' will stand just for the 'physical apparatus consisting of body and *manas*' with the help of

which the soul undergoes the experiences it does." Even these are matter that is other to the self. Thus, a distinction between self and other lies deep at the heart of Jain ontology.

## VII

So who are the Jains? What is Jainism? The chapters in this book tell us that these questions do not admit single answers. Instead, we must rely upon a postmodern variant of *anekantavada*, the Jain philosophical doctrine of the multiplicity of valid perspectives on any phenomenon. 5 The answers to "Who are the Jains?" and "What is Jainism?" will depend upon a complicated set of factors which are themselves dependent upon the context within which the question is raised.

Babb's chapter presents the Jains as a variant of larger South Asian ritual patterns. At the 1993 Amherst workshop, he commented, "Jainism so-called is Indian civilization, just from a particular angle of vision. It is all of Indian civilization, seen in a particular way." This same perspective emerges when one looks at other facets of South Asian culture, such as the Hindu Marriage Act, which applies to Jains, and even the Indian Constitution, according to which Jains and Sikhs are Hindus. So it is possible to see the Jains as representatives of larger South Asian patterns, or as a miniature form of the entirety of South Asian civilization.

At the same time, there is much to be said for the traditional approach of Jain studies, an approach in which the Jains are studied in isolation with little reference to the broader contexts in which they have lived. This approach allows us to see more clearly certain trends, continuities, and points of conflict in the Jain tradition in a diachronic fashion. This also reflects the world view portrayed in much if not most Jain literature, whether it be philosophical, narrative, or devotional. In most Jain texts, we enter a world that is entirely Jain, guided by Jain cosmological and metaphysical principles, and inhabited by souls who are either Jain in the sense of having attained right world view (*samyagdarsana*, *samyaktva*), or are ranked as non-Jain due to their possessing only wrong world view (*mithyadarsana*, *mithyatva*) in the totalizing scheme of the fourteen *gunasthanas*. John Carman commented at the Amherst workshop that for all the similarities exhibited by the Jains with what one might already know of South Asian religion and culture, after reading the chapters presented here one comes away struck with the distinctiveness of the Jain version of Indian civilization. Babb responded to this comment in the affirmative, saying, in a statement that in no way contradicts his earlier comment, "there is a distinctive Jain caste of mind, perspective on world, and way of constructing life and doctrines. This is what we call Jainism." In other words, it is useful to view Jainism not as a thing but rather as a style, one style (or family of styles) among many in South Asia. In the end, such efforts in pursuit of

simple definitions, useful as they may be in clarifying one's thoughts, peter out in inconclusiveness. We do not have a single Jainism, but multiple Jainisms, and multiple visions of what Jainism is. We have contested identities of what it means to be Jain, and since identity is an inherently relational concept, these contested identities of what it means to be Jain can only be studied as paired with contested identities of what it means to be non-Jain.

Thus, a book about the Jains ends up problematizing not only who the Jains are, but also the identities of those who are non-Jain. In particular, the chapters here each in its own way problematize the identity of "Hindu," a term that has come under scrutiny from a number of directions in recent years. 6 If identity is relational, and if we see that both identity and the relationships that shape identity are always at best contextual and provisional, then this should lead us to problematize the other half of the relationship. In other words, we do not see a Hindu other here, but rather a number of more discrete others. We see Brahmanas and Rajputs; we see Buddhists, Saivas, Vaisnavas, and goddess-worshipers; we see authors on aesthetics and tantra and politics; we see scholars, mendicants, women religious, kings, and yogis; we see temples, rituals,

and sex. But all of these varied others do not add up to a single Hindu other.

And yet . . . It would be easy to be carried away in a postmodernist frenzy and deconstruct all categories, and insist that neither Hinduism nor Jainism exist except as reified artificial constructs. But this would deny important and obvious evidence. Jains have been content to discuss "Jains" and "Jainism" for two millennia. "Hindu" and "Hinduism" may not have such a hoary pedigree, but they are clearly terms that have entered into South Asian discourse in recent centuries, and in recent years with a vengeance. The chapters in this book help us see better when terms such as "Jain" and "Hindu," "Jainism" and "Hinduism," are appropriate as elements of certain large-scale discourses about religion, culture, and identity in South Asia, and when they are inappropriate. In focusing on specific instances of Jain interaction with non-Jains, we see that the use of the term "Hindu" to characterize those non-Jains is frequently problematic, as it glosses over on-the-ground differences of great significance. But we also see that there are instances when the use of the term "Hindu," however vague it may be in terms of its referent, is useful and appropriate.

The chapters in this book provide the curious reader with a significant body of information about the Jains that was previously unavailable. This information should serve to alter scholarly understandings of the Jain tradition. We are not dealing only with grim life denying ascetics or "Buddhism's darker reflection." In addition to ascetics, we find that the Jains are yogis, encyclopedists, tantrics, aesthetic theorists, erotic poets, heroic warriors, kings, political theorists, temple builders, image worshipers, and religious women. And that is obviously not all. Incorporating this wealth of information into the standard scholarly portrait of the Jains should leave that portrait permanently transformed and exponentially more complex. The Jain tradition can no longer be seen as static and unimagina-

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tive. We see that nearly every social and cultural development in South Asian history is reflected in the Jain tradition, and even more importantly we see that the Jains were not merely passive receivers of these developments, but instead were active participants in creating and changing South Asian history. Once the vital role of the Jains in shaping South Asian civilization is recognized, it is no longer possible to isolate the Jains from the study of South Asia by segmenting South Asian history into discrete, bounded categories such as "Jain," "Buddhist," "Hindu," "Sikh," and "Muslim." To say that in order to understand the Jains adequately, one needs to understand South Asia, is a truism. The chapters in this volume should make it clear that the opposite statement is equally a truism, and one ignored by scholars of South Asia only at their own peril: in order to understand South Asia adequately, one needs to understand the Jains.

## Notes

1. This emphasis on the dialogical relationship between self and other, in which "self" can be understood only when juxtaposed to an "other," entered into contemporary critical and cultural studies to a significant extent from the structural linguistics of Ferdinand de Saussure. In his *General Course in Linguistics* (1986), written in the early years of the twentieth century and published posthumously in 1931, Saussure states that the meaning of any one word in a language depends on its "diacritical" difference from other words. For example, we can understand the meaning of "red" only by understanding the ways in which "red" is not "blue," "green," and so forth. But whereas Saussure based his theory on a static, atemporal model of language, post-Saussurean, post-structuralist semiotics has striven to bring history and change into this model, a move with which the chapters in this volume are in sympathy.

2. I thank Richard H. Davis for this observation.

3. Among others, see Carrithers 1988, Cort 1997, Dundas 1985, and Jaini 1991.

4. This use of the terms "inclusive" and "exclusive" is indebted to, yet different from, Paul Hacker's notion of *Inklusivismus*, on which see Halbfass 1988, 403-18.

5. I term this a postmodern variant of *anekantavada* because I allow for the possibility of there being no single final answer, whereas in traditional Jain usage *anekantavada* is always tempered by the Jain insistence on there being a single true vision of the absolute truth, a vision perceived fully by the Jina in his infinite perception (*anantadarsana*) and infinite knowledge (*anantajñāna*), and striven for by the Jains in their right perception (*samyagdarsana*) and right knowledge (*samyakjñāna*). See Johnson 1995a.

6. See, among many others, Dalmia and von Stietencron 1995, Larson 1993, Sontheimer and Kulke 1991, and Thapar



1985. Still worth reading on this subject is Wilfred Cantwell Smith's 1964 detailed philological investigation into the history of the use of the word "Hindu" to denote a religious community or tradition.

## Chapter Two

### Haribhadra's Analysis of Patanjala and Kula Yoga in The Yogadrstisamuccaya

*Christopher Key Chapple*

Jainism is often thought of as an isolated tradition, notable for its vegetarianism and odd or extreme monastic practices. Although it had a profound influence on the development of meditative and renouncer traditions of India, and perhaps provided the ethical foundation upon which the classical Yoga system is built, it has received scant attention from scholars of Yoga, who have focussed their studies of what Eliade dubbed the "proto-yoga terrain" on more familiar Buddhist material (Eliade 1969, 162-99; 295-97). 1 R. Williams' study *Jaina Yoga* reinforces the notion that the practice of meditation and renunciation within the Jain tradition was limited almost exclusively to the observance of strict vows, and did not involve the more subtle philosophical insights of the Yogic and Buddhist thinkers.

To the contrary, Haribhadra, who most likely lived in the eighth century and is one of the central figures in Jain intellectual history, took a deep interest in the philosophical and religious developments of his time and was particularly interested in the variety of yogic traditions that surrounded him. In this chapter, I will explore Haribhadra's decidedly cosmopolitan assessment of Yoga, and demonstrate how he specifically linked Patañjali's eight limbs of Yoga with the traditional Jain stages of spiritual purification. I then will turn to his discussion of different sects of Yogis that practiced during his time, and the significance of his work for understanding the relationship between Jain and Tantric forms of Yoga.

### The Eightfold Yoga of Haribhadra

In a Sanskrit text called the *Yogadrstisamuccaya*, Haribhadra provides a comparative analysis of four Yoga schools, and aligns their various stages with the fourteen stages of Jain spiritual advancement. Using Patañjali's eightfold Yoga path as a basis, he develops his own eightfold Yoga scheme, drawing heavily from the goddess imagery prevalent during the era in which he lived. His eight stages bear the names of *Mitra* (Friendly), *Tara* (Protector), *Bala* (Power), *Dipra* (Shining), *Sthira* (Firm), *Kanta* (Pleasing), *Prabha* (Radiant), and *Para* (Highest) Yoga. These are then correlated with two additional Yoga systems. One is attributed to Bhadanta Bhaskara. It is apparently Buddhist in origin, judging from its repeated use of negative terminology, indicated by the privative prefix "a." The other is attributed to Bandhu Bhagavaddatta, which, from the name of its author and its distinctly Hindu terminology, seems to stem from Vaisnava Hinduism (see chart A).

In the *Yogadrstisamuccaya*, Haribhadra indicates that he supports multiple perspectives of ultimate reality, noting, "With these words Sadasiva, Parabrahma, Siddhatma, Tathataone refers to it, though the meaning is one in all the various forms" (130). The term "Sadasiva" indicates that he was familiar with Saivite forms of Hinduism; "Parabrahma" and "Siddhatma" seem to reflect Vaisnavite traditions; the term "Tathata" refers to Buddhism. Hence, in this verse he sees a commonality of purpose in various religious systems.

Despite his seemingly liberal approach in juxtaposing diverse theological terminology, Haribhadra makes amply clear that some paths are better than others, and in the *Yogadrstisamuccaya* he does more than merely provide an architectonic view of yogic philosophy and practice. He also comments in an almost anthropological fashion on different groups of people who practice Yoga, and declares that this text was written for the benefit of those persons involved with what he considers to be incomplete forms of spiritual practice, with serious criticism made against the Kula school of Yoga and its various Tantric practices.

Throughout the text, Haribhadra makes references and allusions that clearly delineate this text as belonging within the Jain tradition. He also demonstrates that he is very familiar with other similar traditions such as Patañjali's Yoga, Buddhism (particularly of the Sarvastivadin variety), monistic Vedanta, Tantra, and goddess worship. He introduces a number of new terms and categories that distinguish this work as unique, developing his own eightfold yoga system and coining the label *avedyasamvedya* (thinking what should not be thought) that is not found elsewhere. As will be explored, he seems particularly interested in making his ideas accessible to non-Jains, and seems to understate or at least underemphasize the specifics of Jain ascetic vows. Rather than providing extensive and detailed directives for yogic practice, he is more inclined to write about the benefits that accrue from such action. As we will see, he is trying to establish a commonality between Jain practice and select yogic practices popular during his time while maintaining a critique of what he considers to be utterly heretical views.

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Chart A.  
Forms of Yoga

Haribhadra	Patañjali	Bandhu Bhagavaddatta	Bhadanta Bhaskara	Gunasthana
Mitra (Friendly)	Yama (Disciplines)	Advesa (No Aversion)	Akheda (No Distress)	1-7; insight and ethics
Tara (Protector)	Niyama (Observances)	Jijñasa (Desire for Knowledge)	Anudvega (No Anxiety)	8; in path, with passions
Bala (Power)	Asana (Postures)	Susrusa (Desirous to Hear Truth)	Aksepa (No Distraction)	9; with gross passions
Dipra (Shining)	Pranayama (Control of Breath)	Sravana (Hearing Truth)	Anuttanavati (No Interruption)	10; with subtle passions
Sthira (Firm)	Pratyahara (Detachment)	Suksamabodha (Subtle Awakening)	Abhranti (Unmuddled)	11; no passion, calmed delusion, no omniscience
Kanta (Pleasing)	Dharana (Concentration)	Mimamsa (Reflection)	Ananyamud (Not Finding Pleasure in Anything Other)	12; no passion, diminished delusion, no omniscience
Prabha (Radiant)	Dhyana (Meditation)	Pratipatti (Perception of Truth)	Arug (Without Pain)	13; no passion, no delusion; with body
Para (Highest)	Samadhi	Satmî-kṛta-pravṛtti (Enactment of Absorption)	Sanga Vivarjita (Free from Attachment)	14; omniscience, no activity

Source: Haribhadra's *Yogadrstisamuccaya*

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In Jainism, the path to final enlightenment or *kevala* occurs in fourteen stages or gunasthanas, as articulated in the commentaries on book nine of Umasvati's *Tattvarthasutra* and other texts (von Glasenapp 1942, 75-92; Jaini 1979, 272-73; Umasvati, 279-85). Haribhadra alludes to these stages only sparingly, either assuming that the reader already knows about them or perhaps hoping that at some later time the reader will become interested and study them. In verses 222-28, he claims that he has written this text for those with errant or incomplete views, in hopes that they might be convinced to correct their ways and perhaps eventually embrace the path of what he calls "Avañcaka" or "Authentic Yoga." One difficulty arises in attempting to align the various eightfold systems of Yoga with the fourteenfold Jaina system. How can one fit fourteen pieces in a system with only room for eight? Although prior scholars who have studied the *Yogadrstisamuccaya* have not even attempted this, it seems clear that Haribhadra does in fact posit a one-to-one correlation. The first seven *gunasthanas* deal with rising above the first phase of ignorance (*mithyadarsana*) to the mastery of the five vows (*vrata*): *ahimsa*, *satya*, *asteya*, *brahmacarya*, *aparigraha*. In order for one to break out of fettering attachment into a genuine practice of these, a conversion experience is necessary and preliminary, referred to in Jainism as "*samyakdrsti*" or "*samyagdarsana*," the adoption of the correct view, which is the fourth stage. Once this has taken place, one then can, with some occasional backsliding, assiduously keep to the vows, as indicated in the fifth and sixth stages, perfecting their observance in the seventh stage. Consequently, I posit that the first seven Jaina *gunasthanas* are



subsumed within the first stage of Patañjali's Yoga, the abstinences (*yama*) that are described with the same exact terms used for the Jain vows (*vrata*) (see *Yoga Sutra* II:30-39).

Haribhadra refers to this first stage or limb of Yoga as "Mitra." In his auto-commentary on verse 21 he lists the five principal *vratas* of Jainism, and then, in verse 22, notes, "The one established here acquires the seeds of Yoga. Knowledge of it is considered to be the cause that produces liberation."<sup>3</sup> At the conclusion of his description of Mitra Yoga, Haribhadra states, "restraint from going astray through this state brings one near the 'unprecedented' (*apurva*); from the essence of this (state) the 'unprecedented' arises" (39). In the Jain system, the eighth *gunasthana* is entitled "unprecedented" (*apurvakarana*). Hence, by completing the first stage referred to as Mitra, one accomplishes the first eight stages or *gunasthanas*.

Once well established within the disciplines of nonviolence, truthfulness, not stealing, sexual restraint, and nonpossession, the Jain practitioner then proceeds to a more probing application of Jain principles. This leads to increased purity, the suppression of subtle passions, and finally to omniscience, first within the realm of activity (*sayoga*) and then finally with no activity (*ayoga*).

Haribhadra's remaining seven stages correlate to the remaining seven aspects of Patañjali's Yoga and to the last seven *gunasthanas*, as delineated in chart

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A. Hence, Tara, which is described as being able to act without fear in the world, correlates to Niyama, the observance of positive qualities in daily life. This would comprise the eighth *gunasthana* (*apurvakarana*), wherein the passions are still occurring in gross form, but in which one has made significant spiritual progress.

In his discussion of Bala, the third stage, Haribhadra uses terms borrowed directly from Patañjali's descriptions of Asana, including "firm" (*sthira*) and "comfortable" (*sukham*). In the *gunasthana* system, it would be equal to *anivrttikarana*, wherein ignorant actions are suppressed but passions still occur. In the fourth phase, referred to as "Dipra" by Haribhadra and "Pranayama" by Patañjali, a more subtle level is achieved through mastery of the breath. In the tenth *gunasthana*, the passions have left the gross realm and one works primarily at subtle purification.

Haribhadra describes the fifth stage, Sthira, in terms directly parallel to Patañjali's discussion of Pratyahara or detachment, employing similes such as "the entire struggle of worldly existence is perceived by the wise as like children playing with a house made of sand" (155). In the corresponding eleventh *gunasthana*, all passions are said to be suppressed, which accords well with the notion of detachment. In the twelfth *gunasthana*, not only are passions suppressed, they are annihilated, indicating that a greater level of subtlety has been attained. In Haribhadra, this sixth phase is called "Kanta," the equivalent of Dharana or concentration in Patañjali. According to Haribhadra, at this stage, one is without doubt.

The seventh phases of Haribhadra and Patañjali are Prabha (Radiant) and Dhyana (Meditation), respectively. In this state, Haribhadra states there is "happiness born of meditation as well as the discipline conquering amorous passion, the emergence of strong discrimination, and the power of constant serenity" (171). Correspondingly, in the thirteenth *gunasthana*, one is said to gain omniscience yet still practice an activity (*yoga*).

The final state is described by Haribhadra as Para or Highest; by Patañjali as Samadhi; and in Jainism as *Ayogi-kevalin* or omniscience without activity. In the fourteenth or highest stage, one renounces four final karmas: feeling, name, life span, and family identity. For Haribhadra, this represents the pinnacle of spiritual achievement, which he describes early in verse 11 of the *Yogadrstisamuccaya*: "By this indeed, the yoga of 'not joining' is declared to be the highest of Yogas. Through this state there is the harnessing of liberation, the mark of all renunciation." Haribhadra states that this stage "has the radiance of *kevala*" (182) and that "the clouds of destructive karma are destroyed by the wind of Yoga" (184). The two succeeding verses (185-186), further demonstrate Haribhadra's advocacy of the Jain definition of final liberation:

With faults depleted, omniscient, endowed with the fruits of all that can be accomplished, with things done now only for the sake of others, such a one attains the end of Yoga.

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There quickly the blessed one attains highest nirvana, from *ayoga* (disjunction), the best of Yogas, having accomplished the cessation of the ailment of worldly existence.

With this final dispersal of all karma, the state of *kevala* has been achieved.

In this assessment of the Yoga system, Haribhadra demonstrates familiarity with and perhaps mastery of Patañjali's *Yoga Sutras*. He skillfully summarizes its major aspects and then adapts Yoga to fit the categories of Jain spiritual practice. In the process, he uses the easily identifiable terminology of Patañjali's system (along with two other systems, one Buddhist, one Vedantin, that have not been discussed in detail here) perhaps to put yogic practices in an orthodox Jain framework. By explaining Jain purification and liberation in light of these other paths, he has clearly broadened the audience for whom this text might be interesting. He also demonstrates that the Jainas of his time were in active discussion with several intellectual and spiritual traditions.

### Haribhadra's Analysis of Yoga Sects and Critique of Kula Yoga

In addition to constructing a comparative analysis of different theories of Yoga, Haribhadra also presents an assessment of specific groups of Yoga practitioners. Toward the end of the *Yogadrstisamuccaya*, Haribhadra lists a hierarchy of four different sects: Kula Yogis, Gotravanta Yogis, Pravrttacakra Yogis, and Authentic (Avañcaka) Yogis. He subdivides this last group into practitioners of Firmness or Sthairya Yoga (which seemingly corresponds to his description of the Tara, Bala, Dipra, and Sthira phases) and the practitioners of Inconceivable Power or Acintya Sakti Yogi (which seemingly corresponds to his levels of Kanta, Prabha, and Para) (see chart B).

Haribhadra asserts that the Kula Yogis, who will be discussed in greater detail below, have achieved no stage at all within the Yoga path. He writes about the Gotravantas with more kindness, deeming them to have achieved an insight into religious life. He also praises them for their desire to persevere and states that these Yogis "display no ill will anywhere, think kindly of the twice-born teacher-gods, are compassionate and modest, possess wisdom, and control the senses" (211). Haribhadra states they have attained the stage known as Desire (Iccha), corresponding to the first four *gunasthanas*; they have had a glimpse of insight without yet making a full commitment to the vows required in Jain Yoga.

Haribhadra characterizes the third group, the Pravrttacakra Yogis, as having achieved Desire (Iccha) and Action (Pravrtta). They have made a preliminary entry into the Yoga path and observe the first of Patañjali's *angas*; in Jain terms, they have achieved the first seven *gunasthanas*. Haribhadra describes the fourth and

Chart B. Four Types of Yogis				
Name of Yoga Group	Stage (Yama) Attained	Form of Yoga Attained	Anga Attained (Patañjali)	Gunasthana Attained
Kula	none	none	none	1
Gotravanta	Iccha	Iccha Yoga	none	1-4
Pravrttacakra	Pravrtta	Sastra Yoga	1	5-7
Avañcaka I	Sthairyam	Samarthya Yoga	2-5	8-11
Avañcaka 11	Acintya Sakti	same	6-8	12-14
Source: <i>Yogadrstisamuccaya</i> : Compiled by Christopher Key Chapple, 1992				

highest group as Authentic Yogis. As noted above, he divides these Authentic Yogis into two groups, those who practice Firmness (Sthairya; Patañjali 2-5; Haribhadra 1-5; *gunasthanas* 8-11) and those in the Yoga of Inconceivable Power (Acintya Sakti; Patañjali 6-8; Haribhadra 6-8; *gunasthanas* 12-14) (see chart B).

This fourfold grouping of Yogis brings us to a discussion of why Haribhadra composed this text, and an examination of the relationship between Jainism and Tantra. Throughout several sections of the *Yogadrstisamuccaya*, Haribhadra associates the Kula Yogis with practices generally associated with aspects of Tantrism. In verse 222, Haribhadra baldly asserts, "The Kula Yogis, who are drunken and more dull than us, might side with our case from hearing this and derive

some small benefit." Yet, he specifically backs away from the notion that this be presented directly to them, stating, "The wise ones do not give this to those who are unsuitable;" (226) and, "Something done even a little is born for no purpose if it is to be condemned" (227). He clearly neither wants to offend the Kula Yogis nor open himself up to criticism by attempting to convert them to his view. It is somewhat interesting that he makes this very personal statement, seemingly at odds with the long-standing Indian tradition of intersectorian debate. Haribhadra seems anxious not to unduly excite the Kula Yogis and, in the final verse of the text, he takes the prudent path, stating, "This is to be given to the suitable ones who are established by great effort in the law, along with those lofty ones who have abandoned envy, for the sake of removing impediments to true blessedness" (228). His refusal to present it to those for whom it was originally intended might be an attempt to avoid any harm that might arise from confrontation.

When Haribhadra states that he hopes that the Kula Yogis might be swayed by his interpretation, he, in fact, is giving voice to a covert theme that seems to pervade certain aspects of the text. During the time he lived in India, the Tantric schools were proliferating in both Hinduism and Buddhism. Jainism also incorporated many Tantric ritual practices, as noted by John E. Cort (1987, 238-39). Paul Dundas' chapter in this volume refers to "left-handed" Jain Tantric practices.

Archaeological evidence points to a fully developed goddess tradition by the time of Haribhadra, replete with temples, statuary, texts, and paintings. Vidya Dehejia (1986, 185), who links the worship of particular Yogini goddesses with Tantra, states:

The tantric cult of the Yoginis, one of the lesser-known sects of the form of heterodox worship referred to as Kaula Marga, appears to have risen to considerable significance in the centuries following A.D. 600. Increasing numbers of followers were attracted to the cult, drawn presumably by the promise of the magical abilities that these goddesses would bestow on their favoured devotees. The orthodox tradition became increasingly aware of the power of this new religious order that was

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drawing away such large groups of worshippers. Realising that the Yoginis possessed a certain persistent and magnetic appeal, it decided to incorporate their goddesses at least into the outer fringes of its own tradition.

This, it seems, is what Haribhadra has in mind, with the hope perhaps not of gaining converts from Kula Yoga to Jainism, but of retaining adherents within the fold, if, as Dehejia suggests, Tantra and related schools such as Kula Yoga indeed held such an allure. He employs two strategies that could accomplish such a purpose. First, he severely criticizes their practices in at least three places in the text. Second, his two original "recastings" of Yoga practice are done in a distinctly tantric manner, as we will see.

Any discussion of Tantra as a distinct tradition is fraught with difficulty. Douglas Brooks (1990, 52-53), quoting Jonathan Z. Smith, suggests that a

useful and accurate method for understanding the class of tantric phenomena is to view the concept as a polythetic classification in which a "large (but unspecified) number of properties or characteristics are possessed by a 'large number' of class members" (Smith 1982, 4). The method is akin to looking for a set of family resemblances by which one identifies a given member. . . . In other words, Tantric phenomena need not possess *all* the defining characteristics of the taxon "Tantric," and there is no a priori justification for deciding that any single characteristic is the most definitive.

Hence, following this polythetic definition of Tantra, it seems that the Kula Yogis described by Haribhadra possess multiple characteristics that qualify them as Tantric, including ritual worship of goddesses and the use of forbidden substances. However, when Haribhadra uses the term Tantra, as we will see below, he praises the emphasis on liberation found in Tantrism without mentioning the above ritual practices, a move that falls short of praising the Kulas directly, but supports the general orientation of the Tantric quest for liberation.

To open his discussion, Haribhadra quotes what appears to be a formula derived from a Tantric text: "From having passed over existence and nonexistence and from shattering even adamant karmas, one has obtained entirely what is to be known" (66). He then refutes this view, saying that this does not get to the essence of the subtle. He also characterizes such people as *avedyasamvedya*, or not thinking what is to be thought, 4 and suggests that their goal is illusory: "This state involves thinking what is not to be thought, and exceeds the limit. In it the end resembles the flickering of a bird's

shadow moving in water"(67). In this verse, he employs the metaphor of the bird's shadow on water to emphasize the delusion of such persons.

In verses 68-70, Haribhadra then lambasts the worship of Durga:

Subtle knowledge is obstructed  
in the destructive power of Durga.  
In this and from this teaching  
nothing is ever born.  
Therefore that vision of destruction  
is not in accordance with truth  
as given in the light of scripture.  
Although it resembles a tradition,  
from it indeed only sin is generated.  
Now from this there is sin indeed,  
due to the fault of karma.  
If one does this at any time,  
it would be like putting one's foot on a hot iron. 5

Haribhadra contrasts *avedyasamvedya* or thinking what one should not think with *vedyasamvedya*, by which one is said truly to be able to destroy obstacles and turn one's thoughts away from "women" (73), which might in fact refer to the goddesses worshipped in the Kula schools. Followers of *avedyasamvedya* are said to "rejoice in existence" and to be "agitated greatly by involvement with objects" (75).

Haribhadra spares nothing in his criticism of people who find pleasure in acquiring things, characterizing them as "wretched, wicked, filled with fear, deceitful, evil, engaging in undertakings that bear no fruit" (76). He goes on to state that such people cannot discriminate right from wrong. He claims that even though they may proclaim that existence is none other than a cycle of sorrow, nonetheless they persist in pursuing false pleasures (78-79).

Haribhadra opposes the idea that it is healthy to experiment with forbidden fruits. He claims that such activity does not purge one from desire, but instead fans the fires of desire (80-81):

They always see evil deeds as something to be done,  
and do things that ought not be done.  
They see pleasure in suffering  
as if drawn to scratch a scab.  
Just as in such itching  
there is no thought of the impact on the scab,  
so for those ensconced in enjoyment,  
desire does not disappear.

Due to the undying force of desire, Haribhadra considers such people to be "violent, always in darkness, rendered stupid by the dust of their sin, never considering truth" (82).

Haribhadra asserts that followers of Kula Yoga and worshippers of Durga are "addicted to vanity, decadent pleasures, and cruel behavior" (84). He concludes this criticism by stating, "The stage of *avedyasamvedya* is the blindness that makes one fall into unhappiness. This is to be conquered by the great souls through the yoga of good company and sacred doctrine"(85). Haribhadra's attack on those whom he considers blinded by desire is quite vitriolic, and underscores his commitment to the foundational aescetism of the Jain tradition.

In a later section of the *Yogadrstisamuccaya*, Haribhadra acknowledges that Kula Yogis have intellect and knowledge, but

claims that they fall short of achieving the calmness that leads to *nirvana* (125-26):

. . . the knowledge-insights are an adjunct  
to liberation for the Kula Yogis,  
arising from absorption into the power derived from texts  
and from the fruits of their attachment.  
But the taking up of calmness leads to singular purity;  
it gives the fruit of *nirvana* quickly  
to those travelling with the purpose  
of going beyond existence.

He implies in these verses that the Kula Yogis do not seek the highest goal, but are most interested in fulfilling their desires. This verse establishes a thin link between the anonymous persons criticized for their incorrect thought and action, and this specific group referred to as Kula Yogis.

Haribhadra critiques those who would try to extinguish a desire by attempting to satisfy it (159-61):

For the wise, wealth does not bring happiness,  
because its friend is poverty.  
So also would it be  
for the many extensive enjoyments of the body,  
which in the world have sin as their companion.  
Even enjoyment arising from dharma  
is worthless for the (spiritual) path of a living being.  
Even if arising from the best of woods (sandal),  
a thing burns and is consumed by fire.  
Trying to stop desire through enjoyment  
is like removing a burden from one shoulder  
and placing it on the other.  
Like that, karmic residue (*samskara*) is created.

A well-known aspect of the Kula cult is the practice of the five "M-s," the forbidden enjoyments in which one indulges during tantric ritual. Haribhadra implies that the pursuit of these can bring only harm.

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## Redefining Tantra

As noted in the quotation cited earlier from Vidya Dehejia, Tantrism had developed a great appeal by the time of Haribhadra. It truly had become a force with which to reckon. In addition to his criticisms and harsh language in regard to what he considers objectionable behavior, Haribhadra uses several devices that can be seen as attempts to co-opt the lure of Tantra. He, in fact, uses the word Tantra various times in the text, always in a positive light. In verse 74 he states that the stage known as *vedyasamvedya* finds its basis in Tantra. In verse 206 he appeals to the Tantra as providing evidence that one can be liberated from the "disease of worldly existence." This is perhaps a way for Haribhadra to redefine Tantra and in a sense enfold it within the Jain system that Haribhadra espouses. As John E. Cort (1994) has noted, a "way of critiquing another is to redefine the opponent's [position] by appropriating it to oneself and simultaneously subordinating the opponent's usage as an inferior, partial usage."

Further evidence of this technique is found in Haribhadra's critique of the Sarvastivadin Buddhist and Advaita Vedanta schools. He begins by arguing that acknowledgment of the reality of existence and hence the reality of suffering is a prerequisite for entry into the spiritual path. He writes that "existence is the great ailment, comprised of birth, death, and disease . . . giving birth without beginning to various karmas" (188-89). Existence according to Haribhadra "produces various forms of delusion and causes excessive desire" (188); the perception of this process constitutes the fourth *gunasthana* and hence initiation into the first stage of purification.

Although this assertion of the reality of suffering sounds similar to the Buddhist truth "all is suffering" and the Vedantic critique of ignorance, Haribhadra states that the momentariness of things in Sarvastivada Buddhism and the illusoriness of



things in Advaita Vedanta vitiates the significance of suffering, and hence removes any incentive for self-purification (204): If an ailment is nonexistent (as per Vedanta) or is momentary (as the Buddhists claim), then, according to logic, a person is never liberated from ailment. Because both Tantra and Jainism admit to the reality of suffering, and both advance a doctrine of living liberation, Haribhadra seems to suggest they hold a closer kinship with one another than with either their Buddhist or Brahmanical competitors (205-6):

If the one in *samsara* is nonexistent  
or is in fact only here a moment at a time,  
then a liberated one is not liberated!  
This is the prevailing thought of the wise.  
Just as in the world one whose illness  
has disappeared is determined to be cured,  
so also it is for the one  
who has the disease of worldly existence.

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Tantra states that one can be liberated  
by the destruction of that disease.

This verse emphasizes that although Jainism differs philosophically from both Vedanta and Buddhism, it shares with Tantra an interest in overcoming the ailment of human desire. Furthermore, though Haribhadra objects thoroughly to Tantric practices, he does include Kula Yogis within his sociological survey of Yoga practitioners, which accords them an (albeit limited) position of respect.

One issue of particular issue in this discussion is Haribhadra's assent to the idea that the *telos* of liberation is common to several different systems. In the *Yogabindu*, Haribhadra maintains the position that the purpose of all Yoga is liberation. Furthermore, he defines Yoga broadly, stating that it occurs when one disconnects from karma (*viyoga*)(*Yogabindu* 2-6). In the *Yogadrstisamuccaya*, he proclaims that "there is no distinction in the truth of omniscience; all principles are known" (108). He also defines this omniscience in plural terms, citing Saivite, Vedantin, and Buddhist appellations (130): "Sadasiva, Parabrahma, Siddhatma, Tathata: with these words one refers to it, though the meaning is one in all these forms." Phyllis Granoff (1989, 108-9) describes Haribhadra as a "man of religious tolerance, of quiet respect for differences . . . [who] displays good will toward those who differ from him," an attitude made evident in his statement that "it is not proper to object to words of conciliation. Refuting or reviling noble people, it seems, would be worse than cutting one's own tongue" (141). Although he has made clear his opposition to what he deems to be incorrect or misguided practices, he nonetheless holds forth the notion that different paths can be used to achieve the goal. He conjectures that "perhaps the teaching is one but there are various people who hear it . . . it shines forth in various ways" (136).

Given the common ground of searching for liberation in both Tantra and Jainism, Haribhadra employs two devices that would be recognizable to one familiar with Tantra, with its array of *Yoginis*, emphasis on liberation, and its infamous rituals. The first of these is found in the opening section of the work, in his discussion of three types of Yoga: Desire (Iccha), Scripture (Sastra) and Effort (Samarthya) (see chart B). Haribhadra uses these three to indicate initial stages of religious inquiry. In the first, one is interested in and desirous of those things that are said to result from the practice of Yoga (3). In the second phase, one resorts to scripture to learn more about spiritual matters (4). And in the third stage, one presumably enters into a formalized course of practice (5). Haribhadra emphasizes the importance of practice (*sadhana*), and states that intuitive knowledge alone is not sufficient for advancement to other levels (8). These three stages are preparatory for the culminating phases that Haribhadra describes later in the text.

It could perhaps be argued that Iccha, Sastra, and Samarthya Yoga are similar to Patañjali's Kriya Yoga: Austerity (Tapas), Study (Svadyaya), and Devotion (Ishvarapranidhana). The two middle practices, Sastra and Svadyaya, seem to correlate quite nicely. However, Iccha is not easily linked with Tapas, nor can a ready

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parallel be seen between Samarthya and Isvarapranidhana. On the other hand, Iccha is the name of a goddess, mentioned in the *Nityahrdaya* (Ananthakishna Sastry 1899, 187). It also comprises one of the aspects of the goddess known as Ambika, whose components are said to consist of Iccha, Jñāna, and Kriya, also identified with a form of Rudrani (Sastry, 158). This triad corresponds directly to that of Haribhadra: Jñāna can be seen as a clear parallel with Sastra, and Kriya can be seen as analogous with Samarthya. Verse 658 of the *Lalita-Sahasranama* refers to this triad as the form of the goddess' energy (Sastry, 266):

*The energies of desire, wisdom, and action (icchasakti-jñāna-sakti-kriyasakti-svarupini): These correspond to her three qualities. The Samketapaddhati says, "Desire is her head, wisdom is her trunk, action her feet, thus her body consists of the three energies." The Vamakesvara Tantra also . . . she, O beloved one, is the energy of desire, wisdom, and action.*

From the prevalence of this threefold structure in the goddess literature, much of which was very popular during Haribhadra's time, it seems quite plausible that he consciously appropriated this structure to serve his own purposes.

Convincing evidence of this acknowledgment of the importance of the Tantric traditions is found also in Haribhadra's choice of names for his eightfold analysis of Yoga. Each of these names occurs in the feminine gender and, although Patañjali does use the feminine gender to describe several yogic practices (see *Yoga Sutra* 1, 33, 35, 36, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 48), the manner in which their gender stands out in Haribhadra is noteworthy. All except one or two are actually names of goddesses.

In addition to Haribhadra's appropriation of goddess and goddess-like names to describe the various parts of his Yoga system, the number eight also holds significance within the Tantric tradition. Originally, a standard grouping of seven mother goddesses was found in the early Tantric texts and temples (Harper 1989, 73-100). However, by the time of Haribhadra, this had extended to eight, a number that then reduplicated itself in the form of sixty-four Yoginis. Perhaps the earliest record of this eight mother tradition is found in the *Agni Purana*, chapters 52 and 146, and in the *Kularnava Tantra*, (Dehejia 1986, 34) both of which have been dated from before the time of Haribhadra.

Haribhadra employed specifically Tantric devices in the *Yogadrstisamuccaya*, which, as he has stated, was composed to counter and co-opt the Tantric traditions. Haribhadra's dismissal of the Buddhist and Vedantic positions is formulaic and perfunctory, repeating arguments that appear in many other texts. However, his concern about and attention to the Kula Yogis is noteworthy, particularly because he seems to acknowledge a kinship with them, due to their stated goal of liberation and their shared assumption that human effort is the only viable means. Unlike the unredeemably anti-Tantric position found in Somadeva (Han-

diqui 1949), Haribhadra seems to hold out hope that some window of convincement exists to woo the Kulas from their ways. Consequently, in addition to countering what Jains consider to be the "extreme positions" of annihilationism and eternalism, he emphasizes the path of purity as the only true yogic means to liberation. However, he attempts this in a subtle fashion. Rather than setting forth the particular (and stringent) aspects of Jain purification practice, Haribhadra cloaks the Jain *gunasthana* system in the combined guise of Patañjali's Astanga Yoga and a Tantric Asta Matrka system. Some of the names he employs are well-known as Hindu goddesses or yoginis; others are close approximations. Through this device, and by introducing the text with a thinly veiled reference to the threefold emphasis on Desire, Study, and Practice in Tantric traditions, Haribhadra attempts to demonstrate that the heterodox movements offer nothing other than what already exists in the practice of his form of Jain Yoga.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, the *Yogadrstisamuccaya* accomplishes many purposes. It demonstrates Haribhadra's fluency with the yogic systems of his era. It proposes a direct connection between eightfold Yoga and the emergent goddess systems prevalent in post-Gupta India. It provides a model for understanding Yoga in light of Jain asceticism and for understanding Jainism in light of yogic practices. It does not shy away from confronting the palpable differences between Jainism, with its doctrine of individual souls, and the schools of monistic Vedanta that posit singularity, and the central teachings of Buddhism that deny the existence of an individual self. It also confronts the issue of personal purity as a key to transcendence, challenging in no uncertain terms the popular notion that desire can be transformed by its enactment.

In some ways, this wide-ranging, synthetic text of Haribhadra can serve as a model for understanding how interreligious dialogue has been an ongoing concern within India for several centuries. Though not compromising his own position, Haribhadra summarizes the philosophy and practices of several traditions. By subordinating their approach and perspective to the overall Jain project of expelling the fetters of karma, he is able simultaneously to affirm the subtleties of the Jain philosophy, particularly in regard to the reality of suffering, and yet put forward the goal of liberation as a unifying concept. By juxtaposing his study of several forms of Yoga with key aspects of Jainism, particularly its insistence on the total and final release of the soul from the fettering influence of karma, he helps the reader to better understand some of the issues under debate within the religious and philosophical communities of his time. Furthermore, Haribhadra's systemization serves as a prime example of how Jainism was able to maintain its integrity and core teachings despite its seductive and tenacious competition.

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## Notes

1. Early Indologists writing on the relationship between Yoga and Buddhism include Émile Senart, Sigurd Lindquist, Theodore Stcherbatsky, A. Berriedale Keith, and Louis de la Vallée Poussin. The practice of meditation in early Jainism is examined by Bronkhorst (1993).
2. Tatia (1951) does not make such a correlation, nor does S. M. Desai (1983). Some discussion of the *gunasthanas* is found in K. K. Dixit's introduction to his edition of the *Yogadrstisamuccaya* (pp. 21-23), but he attempts no correlation between the eightfold and fourteenfold schemes.
3. Translations of the *Yogadrstisamuccaya* are by the author, based on Haribhadra's text and autocommentary as found in the editions of 1912 and 1940.
4. I differ here with the interpretation of S. M. Desai (1983), who equates *asamvedyapada* with Patañjali's outer limbs of *yama*, *niyama*, *asana*, *pranadyma*, and *samvedyapada* with Patañjali's *pratyahara*, *dharana*, *dhyana*, *samadhi*.
5. For another instance of Jain criticism of Hindu worship of fierce goddesses, see Michael W. Meister's chapter in this volume on the "conversion" of the bloodthirsty Mahisamardini to the vegetarian goddess Sacciya.

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## Chapter Three

### Becoming Gautama Mantra and History in Svetambara Jainism

#### Paul Dundas

After Mahavira's death, his closest disciple Gautama lamented the passing of his teacher and his own failure, despite the possession of many magic powers, to gain enlightenment, by repeatedly crying out the word "vira." Eventually through the repetition of the syllable "*ra*," which in Indian mantric culture is associated with fire, Gautama's mouth dried up so that he was only able to pronounce "*vi*," the first syllable of a range of epithets of the enlightened ones, such as *vitaraḡa*, (free from passion) and *viṡaḡa*, (free from grief). Through the power of this particular syllable Gautama was able to eliminate the four harming karmas and attain enlightenment.

This version of one of the best known stories in Jainism has, as far as I am aware, no classical source. It is taken from a Hindi publication called *Mile Man Bhitar Bhagvan* (Meet God in the Mind) by Vijayakalapurnasuri, a contemporary senior ascetic of the Tapa Gaccha, the most influential subsect among the image-worshipping Svetambara Jains. 1 In this book, Vijayakalapurnasuri offers a variety of linked reflections on the nature of worship and devotion in Jainism and, in particular, on the necessity of the Jain devotee understanding that inner transformation and eventual identification with the object of worship must be effected by concentration upon *mantras*, particularly the word *arham* (Sanskrit *arhat*, enlightened teacher), whose constituent elements represent, according to Vijayakalapurna (1985, 120, 124), the seed (bij),

lying at the root of everything significant in Jainism: the great teachers, the doctrine, liberation and so on.

Vijayakalapurna's creative reworking of the story of Gautama's gaining of enlightenment is no doubt an anachronistic modern attempt to locate at the very beginning of Jainism the existence of seed syllables (*bija*), regarded in south Asian religious traditions as embodying power and divinity which can be used in their own right as *mantras* or, more normally, be employed as components of lengthier mantric formulae. However, about three centuries before Vijayakalapurna, another Tapa Gaccha teacher, Meghavijaya, also attempted to show in his *Arhatgita* (Song of the Arhat) how seed syllables are basic to Jain history and practice. He claims, for example, that the vowel "a," the opening sound of the Sanskrit syllabary and of the word *arham*, is to be connected with the first *tirthankara* Rsabha, the son of Nabhi, because it is enunciated from the navel (*nabhi*); also that the ubiquitous pan-Indian seed syllable *hrim* derives its power through being indicative of the liberated Jain soul's upward motion to the top of the universe (*Arhatgita* 26:15, 30:5, 31:15).

Furthermore, while acknowledging that certain syllables and names familiar in Hinduism, such as om and *Rama*, can be deployed in a Jain setting (20: 8, 31:13), Meghavijaya is adamant that such expressions need not be regarded as having any connection with Hindu divinities (20: 10, 31:9). If there does exist doubt as to whether a Hindu deity is being propitiated when the word *arham* is used, for example, that can be dispelled by inserting the word *siddham* within the *mantra*. For Meghavijaya, there can be no question that there have always been authentically Jain *mantras*, different from those found in Hinduism, which take their significance from their deep-rootedness in Jain culture and their employment by adherents of Jainism.

The analysis by westerners of mantric utterances and general Indian attitudes to sanctified language has in recent years reached gratifyingly high levels of sophistication, with some scholars speculating upon the position of ritual within broader ritual and speculative structures and others evincing more preoccupation with the extent to which *mantras* can be held to convey meaning. 2 These investigations have related almost exclusively to Hinduism (with the Buddhists being treated as effectively honorary Hindus), for Jainism has not usually been connected by Indologists with the large-scale employment of *mantras* for either magical or spiritual purposes. Occasionally, it may be grudgingly admitted that there does exist some sort of Jain *mantrasastra*, but in apparent accord with the judgment of one of the leading authorities on *mantra* that this "does not differ in its essentials from the Hindu version and is not very developed" (Alper 1989, 295), there has clearly not been felt any pressing need to carry out a serious exploration of it, and the subject has remained little more than a vague rumor in the relevant secondary literature.

A major contributory factor to this lack of interest must undoubtedly be the existence for almost half a century of M. B. Jhavery's *Comparative and Critical Study of Mantrasastra*, to date the only book length account in a Western lan-

guage of Jain traditions about *mantras* and Tantrism. Jhavery here provides a somewhat disorganized mass of Jain lore culled from a variety of sources, often unpublished at the time, in which he attempts to show that the use of *mantras* was and is central to the practice of Jainism. Credulous though he may be about the value of much of the evidence he deploys, Jhavery's perspective is a broadly historical one in which he traces the careers and achievements of a variety of Jain "*mantra* masters" (*mantrasiddha*), often linking them to particular *mantras*. He also manifests a markedly pro-Jain chauvinism, suggesting that, while the use of *mantras* could as a "practical and popular method of self-realization" be harmonized with the tenets of Jainism, "because of the severity with which the laxity of [Jain] sadhus was punished, it never degenerated into a type of Hindu tantrism" (1944, 293-94). Jhavery's book and one particular Jain tantric text edited within it, the *Bhairavapadmavatikalpa* by the eleventh century Digambara Mallisena, which contains an account of the well-known "six magic arts" (*satkarmāni*), not greatly dissimilar from their Hindu equivalents, have provided the basic source material for those few scholars who have commented upon Jain attitudes to *mantra*, and they still appear to represent the limit of bibliographical knowledge about this area in the West. 3

There can, of course, be little doubt that Jainism never produced a figure in any way comparable to a wide-ranging thinker on *mantrasastra* such as Abhinavagupta and there is no real Jain equivalent to the highly advanced speculation about sacral sound carried out by Saiva intellectuals in medieval Kashmir. Furthermore, there has unquestionably been a degree of ambivalence amongst Jains themselves concerning the proper function of *mantras* within their religion.4 The

frequent insistence by the ancient scriptures on the necessity of truth in speech and the perceived interrelationship of this with ascetic self-control has quite probably contributed to such an attitude,<sup>5</sup> and this stance certainly informs the wariness of the great Svetambara logician Vadidevasuri (eleventh century) who, while accepting the general validity of *mantrasastra*, qualifies his position by also asserting that only the morally upright "whose intention is in accord with truth" (*satyasamkalpa*), that is to say initiated Jain ascetics fully conforming to their vows, are qualified to manipulate *mantras*.<sup>6</sup>

Nonetheless, even though we may most likely discount the evidence of the *Aupapatika Sutra* (pp. 53, 55), which describes Mahavira's senior ascetic followers as being versed in magic spells and *mantras* (*vijjappahana mantappahana*) on the grounds that this scripture probably dates from around the beginning of the common era, the use of *mantras* in some shape or form to gain supernatural or soteriological ends seems to have a very long history in Jainism, very possibly near to two millennia. The purpose of this chapter will not be to provide an inventory of the large number of Jain *mantras* currently in existence, for that would be a laborious task,<sup>7</sup> but rather to suggest how history and traditions shape the often idiosyncratic articulation of Jain mantric culture, with particular reference

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to one particular *mantra* which came to prominence during the medieval period among the image-worshipping Svetambaras. But first it will be necessary to trace some broad historical contours.

### Towards a History of Jain Mantra

At an initial glance, the classical Jain interpretation of the nature of language would seem to preclude any ready acceptance of theories about the primal and eternal creative energy of word and the manifestation of divinity in sonic form of the sort which lie at the heart of the Hindu concept of mantra. Although it may not necessarily have formed an important part of his original teaching, Mahavira is portrayed in one scriptural text as explaining to his chief disciple Gautama how speech *qua* linguistic utterance is materially constituted out of atoms, and Jain metaphysicians throughout the medieval period were to insist that sound, as an atomic modification, could not be eternal, with the consequence that brahman claims for the non-created nature of the Veda, regarded as the ultimate source of all *mantras*, were viewed as bogus. <sup>8</sup> It may well be that as a result of their substance-based approach to linguistic utterance the Jains were unwilling to ascribe to any form of speech an exclusively transcendent role which might otherwise have smoothed the way to a general acceptance by them of a Vedic-style phonic absolute conceived as the central creative force in the universe.<sup>9</sup> In addition, the fact that normative Jain teaching envisages liberation as resulting only at the end of a gradual process militated against the full integration within the tradition of any mystically oriented, *mantra*-derived doctrine involving some kind of spontaneous or immediate experience (Cort 1987, 238).

It is noteworthy that the most important of Jain mantras, the *Pañcanamaskara*, or Five Homages to the *arhats*, liberated souls, teachers, preceptors and monks, is composed in vernacular Prakrit rather than Sanskrit, the language of the Veda, reflecting the fact that the scriptures themselves were also transmitted in Prakrit by a lineage of enlightened *human* teachers. An important, if obvious, point can be made at this juncture. Any general theoretical account of *mantra* in South Asian religious traditions which claims that extended *mantric* utterances (as opposed to the seed syllables which have a framing function) must be composed in Sanskrit or in some degree of conformity to the rule of Sanskrit grammar or, alternatively, in deliberate infringement of these rules, will have to be altered to accommodate Jain views about the efficaciousness of Prakrit *mantras* such as the *Pañcanamaskara*. A Mimamsa-derived rejection of Prakrit as not yielding sense under any circumstances might satisfy hardline brahman criteria, but is scarcely adequate in a serious scholarly discussion.<sup>10</sup>

The *Pañcanamaskara*, whose prestige most likely derived originally from its perceived auspiciousness, was gradually transformed from a benedictory phrase expressive of the saving power of the Jain religion and the centrality of its

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ascetic community to a mantra endowed with the power to save in its own right. <sup>11</sup> According to a commentator on the medieval doctrinal digest, the *Pravacanasaroddhara* of Nemicaandra, it is the principle origin of all *mantras*, constituting both the essence of the fourteen now lost Purva scriptures and a magical means of satisfying desires and bringing all sorts



of malevolent beings into one's power.<sup>12</sup> For eventually the *Pañcanamaskara*, framed by seed syllables and amplified by combination with a wide range of collocations, was to form the basis of an extensive number of Jain mantric utterances oriented both towards the mundane and the transcendent, while the formula also came to be associated with ritual diagrams such as the *Siddhacakra*. By around the tenth century, the five sounds *a-si-a-u-sa* (representing the initial syllables of the five elevated categories paid homage to in the *Pañcanamaskara*: in Sanskrit, *arhat*, *siddha*, *acarya*, *upadhyaya*, and *sadhu*) were regarded as forming a *mantra* of particular power which could be symbolically "placed" on the various parts of the body by the process known as *nyasa* (*Yogasastra* 8:76-77).<sup>13</sup>

It would be idle to pretend that the historical dynamics involved in the transformation of the *Pañcanamaskara* can be adequately explained on historical or sociological grounds and, unfortunately, what might possibly be relevant textual evidence is difficult to contextualize fully.<sup>14</sup> Although there was undoubtedly familiarity with seed syllables such as *om*, *hrim*, and *klim* and so on among the early medieval Svetambaras,<sup>15</sup> it seems to have been the Digambaras who paved the way for the textual reception of a developed mantric culture, both worldly and soteriological, of a brand already familiar to Hindu and Buddhist scholars and ritualists. It is well known that the ninth-century Digambara teacher Jinasena delineated in the fortieth chapter of his *Adipurana* a selection of *mantras* to be utilized in the sixteen main life-cycle rituals of what he calls "Jain brahmans" and also in fire-rituals (*havanapuja*). All these *mantras*, which evince broadly similar shape, are like the basic text of the *Pañcanamaskara*, *arthamantra*, that is, they have clearly intelligible sense and, as presented by Jinasena, also specify the context in which they are to be used.<sup>16</sup>

However, of a still greater order of importance for the "mantricization" of Jainism, in the sense of the intersection of long-established Jain devotional and doctrinal patterns with an idiom of a broadly Hindu provenance, is the *Jñānarnava* (Ocean of Knowledge) of the Digambara Subhacandra, who probably lived in the tenth century. It has been suggested that the *Jñānarnava* shows Saiva influence in its reordering of the traditional Jain meditative structure and, while the precise nature of Subhacandra's intentions must remain uncertain, his work can be regarded as confirming Jainism's acceptance of what had become the generalized Indian attitude that the careful manipulation of sanctified sound in a ritual or meditative context could ensure accelerated advancement towards a variety of goals (Dundas 1992, 145, Jhaveri 1944, 172).

In the *Jñānarnava* Subhacandra blends much of the "software" of Saiva mantrasastra with specifically Jain soteriological concerns to present a spiritual idiom

which may have existed previously in Jainism, but had never been articulated in textual form with such emphasis and confidence. Although the eighth chapter of the *Yogasastra* of Hemacandra (1089-1172) would appear to have borrowed from, or been inspired by, chapter thirty-five of the *Jñānarnava*, there exists no explicit statement or even hint of the great Svetambara's indebtedness to Subhacandra, no doubt because the hagiographers were unwilling to allude to any possible association with a Digambara heretic. It may be possible that the stories of Hemacandra's connection with Kashmir, the heartland of Indian mantric speculation, signal an awareness of Jain *mantrasastra*'s partial linkage to an ultimately Saiva-inspired style of religiosity. <sup>17</sup> Nonetheless, even though it cannot be said with confidence whether it was the *Jñānarnava* or the *Yogasastra* which was the conduit that mediated an intensified awareness of mantric culture to the various image-worshipping Svetambara subsects (*gaccha*) which began to proliferate from the eleventh century, these texts unquestionably provide the implicit background for the main subject of this essay, the *surimantra*, "the principle cause of the continuation of the Jain religion."<sup>18</sup>

## The Surimantra in Svetambara Gaccha History

"*Surimantra*" is the most common designation of a formula, given a variety of names in the sources, which has to be recited or meditated upon in important ritual contexts by Jain monks who have attained the senior rank of *suri*.<sup>19</sup> It is to be distinguished from another important mantric formula, the *Vardhamana-vidya*, which is employed by monks of all other ranks.<sup>20</sup> The *surimantra* occurs only among the Svetambara image-worshipping *gacchas*, for aniconic groups such as the Sthanakvasis claim that during the fifth century C.E. there occurred a major interruption of the teacher lineage through which the formula was transmitted. The *mantra* does not seem to have any serious place in Digambara Jainism, at least as textually constituted, although Jinaprabhasuri (fourteenth century) records the existence of a Digambara transmission of part of it.<sup>21</sup>

As there is no mention of the *surimantra* in the scriptures, it would seem justifiable to conclude that the formula makes its appearance some time during the medieval period. However, clearly datable references are hard to find. Probably among

the earliest is Haribhadra's (eighth century?) description of how a pupil, on the appropriate day and in a suitable state of purity, should be given the *surimantra* by his teacher along with sprinkling of the head with sandalwood powder (*abhivasana*), the latter being a consistent feature of ascetic ritual.<sup>22</sup> While what is probably the most important medieval hagiographical account of the great Svetambara teachers, the *Prabhavakacarita* of Prabhacandra (thirteenth century), shows little concern for the *surimantra* because of a basic lack of interest in lineage matters,<sup>23</sup> it clearly played a significant part in establishing sectarian identity for the followers of an ascetic group like the reforming Kharatara Gaccha, which appeared in the eleventh century.

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So, according to the thirteenth-century chronicler Jinapala, Vardhamana, the founding *suri* of the Kharatara Gaccha and supposed instigator of the reaction against the practice of monks living in temples, validated his decision to abandon his lax teacher and institute a new sect by summoning through fasting the tutelary deity Dharanendra, who revealed to him the fruit of every word of the *surimantra*. The appearance of the *mantra* and the emergence of Vardhamana as *suri*, with a legitimately formed band of followers, are both described by the adjective *samsphura*, (shining forth) <sup>24</sup> Another chronicler describes how Simandhara, the *tirthankara*, preaching in the continent of Mahavideha, completed the *surimantra* and ensured its transmission to Vardhamana.<sup>25</sup> The continuing association of the *surimantra* with correct religious impulse (*samvega*) can be seen in a later description of how in the sixteenth century a dead Kharatara Gaccha *suri* appeared in a dream to a senior monk to show him a ritual diagram containing the *surimantra* in order to create in him a desire to extirpate lax ascetic behavior.<sup>26</sup>

As well as being an indicator of legitimate and upright succession, the *surimantra* was also regarded by the chroniclers of the Kharatara Gaccha as a type of magic spell which could safeguard and promote the interests of the lay community. Jinapatisuri was able to move a bewitched image through its aid, while the great Jinavallabhasuri (twelfth century) used it to enrich a layman.<sup>27</sup> The *surimantra* could even be used to inflict pain upon an enemy, as when Jinahamsasuri, who, at the end of the fifteenth century had been imprisoned by the Moslems, meditated upon it so that the divinity embodied within the *mantra* came to torment the sultan.<sup>28</sup> Other stories describe how supernatural beings will guarantee good fortune to the Kharatara Gaccha if the *surimantra* is regularly recited.<sup>29</sup>

The other leading Svetambara image-worshipping group, the Tapa Gaccha, also preserves narrative traditions about the *surimantra*. The most elaborate is to be found in the *Hirasaubhagya* of Devavimalaganin (late sixteenth century), which gives a highly poeticized account of the career of the great teacher Hiravijayasuri. One of the central events of the poem is the three-month solitary meditative propitiation (*aradhana*) of the *surimantra* by Hiravijaya and the eventual appearance of the goddess who presides over it to answer his enquiry about the monk most fitted to be appointed *suri* after him.<sup>30</sup> Another Tapa Gaccha poetical hagiography written at roughly the same time as the *Hirasaubhagya*, the *Vijayaprasasti* of Hemavijaya, also describes the manipulation of the *surimantra* through meditation and austerity, but makes clear that the deity invoked is male.<sup>31</sup>

## Sources for the Surimantra Ritual

None of these *gaccha* accounts makes any reference to the actual wording of the *surimantra* formula and in contemporary practice today the *mantra* whispered into the ear of the new *suri* by his teacher would appear to be secret and not governed by tradition.<sup>32</sup> In his manual of procedural matters for ascetics of the

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Kharatara Gaccha, Jinaprabhasuri states specifically in the course of a detailed description of the ritual for the consecration (*abhiseka*) of a *suri* that the text of the *surimantra* has not been written down because otherwise knowledge of it would disappear, <sup>33</sup> that is to say, preservation of the correct wording could only be ensured by oral transmission. However, there are several ritual handbooks (*kalpa*) of varying length, including one by Jinaprabhasuri himself, which give a range of versions of the text of the *surimantra* and outline the manner in which the formula can be written in sacred diagrams, as well as describing the ritual surrounding it. Much of this literature, or at least instruction in it, seems to have been of restricted access; here we are dealing with a genuinely esoteric dimension of Jainism.<sup>34</sup> It is clear that this mantra was only to be used in serious matters or when the Jain community was in danger, otherwise the user's life



might be imperiled.<sup>35</sup>

The texts describing the *surimantra* emanate from a variety of medieval Svetambara sectarian traditions. The longest, and probably the earliest available, dating as it does from the second half of the thirteenth century, is the *Mantrarajarahasya* (MRR) of Simhatilakasuri of the Kharatara Gaccha, which encodes several versions of the *mantra*. Other extensive treatments are the *Surimantrakalpa* (SMK) of Rajasekharasuri of the Maladhariya Gaccha (fourteenth century), the *Surimantrabrhatkalpavivarana* (SMBKV) of Jinaprabhasuri (fourteenth century), and the *Surimukhyamantrakalpa* (SMMK) of Merutungasuri of the Añcala Gaccha (approximately fourteenth/fifteenth centuries). Muni Jambuvijaya, as well as editing the aforementioned texts in the two volumes of *Surimantrakalpasamuccaya* (SMKS), not only published along with them a large number of shorter texts and hymns connected with the *surimantra* composed by a variety of teachers, but also reproduced some rare cloth pictures (*pata*), depicting elaborate mandalas, some of which appear to be modeled on the preaching assembly (*samavasarana*) of the *tirthankaras*, on which the text of the *mantra* is set out in accordance with ritual prescriptions.<sup>36</sup>

No critical assessment of the possible interrelationships between these texts has yet been undertaken and it cannot be accurately judged, for example, to what extent the MRR, which quotes from the Digambara *Jñanarnava*, was drawing on earlier sources or formulating ideas about the *surimantra* for the first time.<sup>37</sup> Although there are general similarities between the various sectarian discussions of the *mantra*, manifest differences are also found, particularly with respect to details of the ritual. I shall for convenience here treat this material as a composite, pointing to relevant divergences where they occur, and use it as the basis for a broad consideration of the *surimantra* and its function within Svetambara Jainism.

### Traditions about the Transmission of the Surimantra

According to one enumeration (SMKS, 211), there are four kinds of mantra in Jainism, named respectively *anava*, *karmaja*, *pravartaka*, and *nivartaka*. The first is said to be the seed of good karma, the second its arising, the third its op-

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eration, and the fourth type, to which the *surimantra* belongs, relates to freedom from karma, or *moksa*. The tradition repeatedly referred to in the medieval period situates the *surimantra* within the accelerating process of decline that sets in during the final stages of the world age. According to Simhatilaka, the original three hundred verse *mantra*, which had been given by the first *tirthankara* Rnabha to his disciple Pundarika, remained intact and unitary (*ekavacana*) until the death of the eighth *tirthankara* Candraprabha, after which it gradually broke up (*bhinna*). Gautama received the *mantra* from Mahavira in the form of 2,100 syllables which he turned into thirty-two verses. These progressively decay, until by the end of the world age, when the *mantra* reaches the last *suri*, whose name is Duhprasabha, it will consist of a mere three- and- a- half verses. <sup>38</sup> The appearance (*sphurti*) of the *mantra* was interrupted, according to one teacher, for various reasons: ignorance, pride on the part of monks in their performance of magical transformations (*vikriya*), and failure to conform to the behavior of morally sound teachers (SMKS, 202).

There was a general acknowledgment of the mutability and fluctuating nature of the *surimantra*, owing to confusion caused by the various oral traditions (*vacana*) in circulation (SMKS, 195, 208-9). Simhatilaka admits that, in the last resort, it is opinion (*mata*) and the teaching of a good guru which must provide the authority for distinguishing among the various versions (MRR 624). Merutunga, describing how Aryaraksita (eleventh/twelfth centuries) had revealed the *surimantra* tradition to the Añcala Gaccha, states that, despite all contemporary *gacchas* having their own versions of the *mantra*, it nonetheless is unified in its essence (*tattvaikya*), because all these versions relate to the ultimate attainment of deliverance (SMMK, 132: vv. 2-4).

Many of the medieval teachers attempt to link the transmission of the *surimantra* to the ancient and prestigious ascetic group, the Kotika (also spelled Kautika and Kottika) Gana, which is mentioned in the *Kalpa Sutra* and many early Jain inscriptions.<sup>39</sup> This apparently represented a central lineage in the nascent Svetambara sect; its name is still invoked today in the ascetic ordination ritual of the Tapa Gaccha. According to Simhatilaka, the Kotika Gana took its name from the *Kotyamsamantra*, supposedly the name of the *surimantra* between the time of Mahavira's disciples and the teacher Vajrasvamin (early common era?) and so called because the meditator on the *mantra* sees a "fragment of a crore" (*koti-amsa*) of the reality directly accessible to the omniscient ones. On the interruption of the *Kotyamsamantra*, the tradition has it, the Kotika Gana was founded by three of Vajrasvamin's pupils in order to attempt to preserve memory of it.<sup>40</sup>

## The Structure and Wording of the Surimantra

Despite the traditional stories about the versification of the *surimantra* by Gautama, no Svetambara *gaccha* seems to have preserved a metrically structured version of it. Discrepancies in wording can be quite marked, as between the

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Maladhariya transmission which Rajasekhara carefully analyses as being composed of 229 syllables (SMK, 130-31) and the Añcala transmission which is 378 syllables in length (SMMK, 163). 41 As with extended *mantras* in other South Asian traditions, the *surimantra* is divided into sections, here called "*pras-thana*" or "*pitha*." The latter is a classificatory term apparently borrowed by the Jains from Saivism and in the context of the *surimantra* denotes (SMKS, 196) an "aggregate consisting of objects of meditation" (*dhyeyarupasamavaya*).<sup>42</sup> Typically, the *surimantra* will have five sections, although there are versions with as many as six and as few as one.

A representative example of the *surimantra* might be the Maladhariya transmission as recorded by Rajasekharasuri in the SMK, although the relative absence of seed syllables within it compared to some other versions is unusual. The opening section called *Vidyapitha*, whose presiding goddess is Sarasvati, is characteristic of all *surimantras* and consists of Prakrit utterances of homage, expressed as in the *Pañcanamaskara* with the word *namo* followed by the genitive plural, to a succession of Jain spiritual types, here twelve, idealized in terms of particular advanced attainments. The wording is as follows:

*namo jinanam namo ohijinanam namo paramohijinanam  
namo anamtohijinanam namo savvohijinanam namo  
anamtamtohijinanam namo bhavattakevalinam namo  
abhavattakevalinam namo sambhinnasoyanam namo paya-  
nusrinam namo kuttabuddhinam namo biyabuddhinam*

A rough translation would be: "Homage to the Jinas, homage to the Jinas who have clairvoyant knowledge (Sanskrit *avadhi*), homage to the Jinas who have supreme clairvoyant knowledge, homage to the Jinas who have limitless clairvoyant knowledge, homage to the Jinas who have complete clairvoyant knowledge, homage to the Jinas who have infinite clairvoyant knowledge,<sup>43</sup> homage to the omniscient one who exist, homage to the omniscient ones who do not exist, homage to those who hear through all parts of their body,<sup>44</sup> homage to those who can complete a text after hearing just one word, homage to those whose intellects are like granaries, homage to those whose intellects are like seeds (from which multiform ideas emerge)."

The first section ends with the statement *jam iyam vijjam paumjami sa me vijja pasijjhau svaha* (whatever spell I employ, may that spell be successful for me *svaha*).<sup>45</sup>

The homage portion of the *Vidyapitha* section of the *surimantra* contains a variant version of a list of unusual attainments (*labdhi*) gained through meditation, which in its most extended form numbers fifty (MRR 2-7), although the maximum referred to in any published version of the *mantra* seems to be only forty. Interest in the gaining of magic powers can be traced back in Jainism to the canonical scripture, the *Bhagavati* Sutra, which describes how the ability to fly

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can result from a particular pattern of fasting (Deleu 1970, 5 7-58). The *Aupapatika Sutra* (49-51) credits the ascetic followers of Mahavira with possession of a variety of remarkable powers and attributes, including bodily wastes which had curative properties and the "unfailing kitchen" (*akkhinamahanasa*), later to be specifically associated with Gautama, whereby even a little food distributed amongst many does not diminish. <sup>46</sup> The thirteenth-century doctrinal digest, the *Pravacanasaroddhara* (vv. 1492- 1508) is aware of twenty-eight of these *labdhi*, probably deriving them in part from the enumeration found in the *Aupapatika Sutra*, which it describes as coming about either through some form of transformation (*parinama*) or through asceticism. The invocations of the *surimantra* merge these with varieties of advanced spiritual attainments and scriptural knowledge, thus providing a meditative focus for the gaining of magic and spiritual power, for each of these *labdhi* is envisaged as having twenty *vidya*, or magic spells personified as deities, associated with it (MRR 9). Simhatilaka describes (MRR 49-67) the practical effects brought about by meditation on the

possessors of these *labdhi*. So, contemplation of the first, the omniscient Jinas, dispels cholera (*visucika*: MRR 52), while intoning the words of the second homage to the clairvoyant Jinas (*ohijina*) cures fever (MRR 47).

The second section of the Maladhariya transmission of the *surimantra*, presided over by the goddess Tribhuvanasvaminī, is called "*Vidya*"; it is divided into two parts called "*Bahubalividya*," and "*Saubhagyavidya*" respectively. The wording of the *Bahubalividya* is *om namo bhagavao Bahubalissa panhasama-nassa svaha* (*om* homage to Bahubali the wise ascetic *svaha*) and of the *Saubhagyavidya* is *vaggu vaggu nivaggu sumane sumanase mahumahure svaha*, which appears to represent a string of adjectives expressing beauty and attractiveness in the feminine vocative case, addressed either to the presiding deity of this *mantra* or the power associated with her.<sup>47</sup>

It is slightly unusual to find in a medieval Svetambara source an invocation of Bahubali, the son of the first *tirthankara*, who drew back from killing his brother at the moment of victory in combat, and instead became an ascetic. Although the basis of the narrative centering on him had been formulated in Svetambara writings by around the sixth century, it was the Digambaras of south India who developed an important cult relating to Bahubali, and a fourteenth-century representation on the Adinath temple at Mount Satrunjaya in Gujarat would appear to represent the only significant Svetambara image of him.<sup>48</sup> The epithet "wise ascetic" (Sanskrit *prajñasramana*) applied to Bahubali in the *surimantra* formula is explained by Hemacandra, in the course of his discussion of *labdhi*, as signifying an individual who has attained great wisdom through the diminishing of the karma which hinders understanding and energy and who, although not having studied any of the Purva and Anga scriptures, can easily understand any topic raised by a teacher versed in the scriptural texts (comm. on *Yogasāstra* 1:8, 41). Bahubali's qualities are seen as stemming from practice rather than learning, and he would have been viewed as a fitting exemplar by practitioners no longer in

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touch with their complete scriptural tradition (the Purva scriptures having been lost) of a ritual both intended to speed up the attainment of unusual powers and the gaining of deliverance. According to Rajasekhara, utterance of the *Bahubalividya* alone brings victory in debate (SMK, 118).

The third section of this transmission of the *surimantra*, which is called "*Mantrapitha*," is presided over by the god Ganipitaka (apparently a personification of the Jain scriptures), and is worded *om kirikirikali piripirikali sirisirikali hirihirikali mahakali svaha*. Formulations of this sort are found in other traditions and are essentially untranslatable. However, although Rajasekhara states (SMK, 130) that none of his contemporaries can give an explanation of every syllable (*pratyaksaravivarana*) of the *surimantra*, he nonetheless interprets the expressions *kiri*, *piri*, and so forth, as relating to various divinities who can protect Jainism and describe what has befallen deceased monks and laymen in their next birth. The expression "*mahakali*" is explained by Rajasekhara as being a synonym of the Jina. <sup>49</sup>

The fourth section, called "*Upavidya*," is presided over by the goddess Sri-devi and is worded *om kiriyae piriyaē siriyae hiriyae iriyae svaha*. Here can be recognized a series of Prakrit words, four of which seem to be found as nominal stems in the previous section, in the feminine singular instrumental case, namely *kiriya*, (action); *piriya*, (possibly signifying "love"); *siriya*, (auspicious prosperity); *hiriya*, (modesty); and *iriyā*, (motion). The wording is slightly reminiscent of a Jain confessional (*pratikramana*) formula.

The fifth section, called "*Mantraraja*," is presided over by a wide variety of deities of both sexes and is worded *om kirimeru pirimeru sirimeru hirimeru ayariyameru svaha*. This is obviously modeled on the third section, with the addition of the word *ayariya*, "teacher." Although *meru* is a word of general Tantric applicability which, as well as referring to the world mountain Meru, can also connote the channel or vein running through the center of the yogin's body, Rajasekhara takes it here as referring to the specifically Jain idea of "arhantship" (*arhantya*: SMK, 121), that is to say omniscient enlightenment.

The power intrinsic to the *surimantra* can only be tapped when it is employed in the appropriate performative ritual context and Rajasekhara describes how hand gestures (*mudra*), meditation, and patterns of verbal and mental recitation (*japa*) are required. Fire ceremonies must also be performed for the propitiation (*aradhana*) of those sections of the *mantra* (one, two, and four) presided over by female deities.<sup>50</sup> In keeping with Jainism's ascetic ethos, these are all deemed to be fruitless if various types of austerity, as well as confession, are not also performed in conjunction, and other accounts of the ritual describe how it must be structured over several days of fasting (e.g. SMKS, 248-49). Furthermore, Rajasekhara makes clear that there is a strong representational element in the *surimantra* ritual, involving the drawing with sandalwood paste and camphor of *mandala*-like images of the *samavasarana* of Rsabha within which the *mantra*

should be recited and where *puja*, involving lustration and offering of flowers, can be made. 51 The components of the ritual can, after their ceremonial use, be mixed together and given as medicine to sick people or animals (SMK, 121; repeated by SMMK, 154).

### Becoming Gautama

The first section of the *surimantra* is, as its content would suggest, strongly associated with gaining magic powers. According to Rajasekhara, after properly performing the various necessary rituals associated with it, the adept masters eight attainments or spells (*siddhi*, *vidya*) which can benefit either himself or another.<sup>52</sup> Further meditation on the twelve *labdhi* words of the section, in the contemplative form of articles of bodily decoration, can subsequently lead to kingship or mastery (*prabhutva*) and wealth (SMK, 116-17). However, Rajasekhara goes on to assert that the *Mantraraja*, the fifth section of the *surimantra*, is the *svamin* (master) of the previous four sections, in that it includes these within itself,<sup>53</sup> and he invokes the authority of unspecified *vrddha* (ancient) teachers for correlating each section with the five progressively more advanced types of knowledge delineated in Jain epistemology, so that "when the fifth section of the *mantra* is being contemplated, omniscience appears."<sup>54</sup> Each section of the *surimantra* and each type of knowledge encompasses the previous one. Although the twenty-five syllables of the fifth section, when inscribed in a diagram and worshipped and recited in the appropriate manner for twenty-one days, can effect results like curing illness, the real purpose of the *surimantra* for Rajasekhara is not in question: "after recitation of the fifth section one hundred thousand times, the *suri* becomes (*bhavati*) Gautama visibly (*pratyaksa*), his pupils gain supernormal attainments (*labdhi*) and his lay followers wealth and family (SMK, 121).<sup>55</sup>

Virtually nothing has been written about the cult of Mahavira's disciple Gautama in Jainism. Intriguingly, the evidence suggests that his biography had been expanded to include many of the most significant qualities and episodes with which he is today associated by the ninth century, a period roughly contemporary with the Jain assimilation of the Hindu god Ganesa, with whom Gautama shares certain characteristics, such as auspiciousness, removal of obstacles, and fondness of food.<sup>56</sup> Gautama is traditionally portrayed as having been in possession of magic powers (*vidya*) even while a brahman householder and also as having after conversion mastered through austerity twenty-eight *labdhi*.<sup>57</sup> Although, strictly speaking, the Svetambara ascetic lineage originates with Mahavira's disciple Sudharman, a fact very occasionally acknowledged by the writers on the *surimantra* (MRR 305; SMKS, 233 v.7), it is Gautama who by around the thirteenth century assumes for the various sectarian groupings a central position in guaranteeing the continuity of the teacher line by means of the *mantra* which he has originally

transmitted, while at the same time becoming the focus for ritual activity by which power and even liberation can be achieved.

There is in fact no unitary view expressed concerning the manner in which the *surimantra* effects its results, but the ability of a *suri* through meditation upon it to see or present himself esoterically as in some way omniscient (MRR 305; 356) or, in particular, similar to Gautama, seems to have been basic to its reputation. The textual tradition conveys this in various ways. Some writers describe, as does Rajasekhara, the meditating *suri* becoming Gautama himself (SMKS, 245 v.33). Simhatilaka states that the *suri* who recites the *mantra* becomes *uttejas* (refulgent) with Gautama's powers and gains deliverance in three existences (MRR 475). Elsewhere, he claims that the *suri* who regards himself as Gautama and at the same time worships him in the *mandala*, while meditating on him in his heart, is omniscient. Both Meruturiga and Jinaprabha claim that deliverance will come in three existences, but, for the former, the meditating *suri* becomes after one hundred thousand utterances of the *mantra* "like" or "equal to" (*tulya*) Gautama (SMMK 15), while for the latter, he actually is Gautama in this world (SMBKV, 99). According to another anonymous writer (SMKS, 233), the *suri* who meditates on the fifth section of the *mantra* is Gautama and Sudharman. 58

Notions of spiritual realization in medieval Jainism were frequently articulated with reference to the *paramatman* (supreme self) or *antaratman* (inner self), direct experience of which was regarded as equivalent to the omniscience which characterizes enlightenment. This mystical idiom can be discerned most obviously in Digambara Jainism in the writings



of the early common era teacher Kundakunda (Dundas 1992, 91-95). The Svetambara *surimantra* ritual, however, by which the presiding guru can summon and identify with Gautama, provides a markedly different method of advancing towards the goal, more akin to Tantrism than anything else found in Jainism. So, using terminology common in Hindu and Buddhist Tantric texts but virtually unknown in Jainism previously, Meru-tunga describes how Gautama, after being summoned by means of a *mandala* and a series of invocations, should be conducted to the *brahmarandhra*, the crown of the head, by the central yogic vein called *susumna* and then be established in "the lotus of the heart" by the *puraka* breath, one of the esoteric types of breathing found in Tantric yoga (SMMK, 144-47). Rajasekhara also describes how Gautama should be conducted from the heart to the *brahmarandhra* through the yogic channels (*nadi*) and then back to the heart again (SMK, 124 and 128), while Simhatilaka, drawing on other general Tantric usage, refers to the *kundalini* located in the body (MRR 43 7-38; 446) and the four great Tantric sacred sites (*pitha*), which can be homologized with the main parts of the human body (MRR 468-70), and even describes the deployment of a woman, initially partly clothed (*ekadesanagna*), within a *mandala* for a calming (*santika*) ritual (MRR 538-45).<sup>59</sup>

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## A Jain Mantrasastra?

Striking as these references to yogic and ritual practices might be to those with preconceived notions about Jainism's supposedly austere and conservative nature, their prevalence within the tradition should not be exaggerated. Indeed, it must be stressed that the Jain religion has never entertained the possibility of utilizing ritual manipulation of sexual activity and concomitant varieties of antinomian behavior generally associated with the phenomenon known as Tantrism. These practices have only really flourished within soteriological paths such as Vajrayana Buddhism and Trika Saivism whose central intellectual position is that of non-dualism. Jainism's consistently pluralist metaphysical stance must be regarded as excluding it from total engagement with such a ritual culture.

In fact, the claim of attaining some kind of identity with Gautama through manipulation of the *surimantra* does recall a particular Saiva form of worship, to be found in the dualist Saiva Siddhanta, where the devotee's temporary assumption of the qualities of Siva in daily worship, becoming a Siva in other words, presages the soul's final liberation in which it becomes equal to Siva.<sup>60</sup> However, the existence of such an approximate ritual analogue is insufficient in itself to explain the "meaning" of the particular idiom of Jain ritual and mantric usage described by the monastic interpreters of the *surimantra*. As mentioned above, Saiva transferences to Jainism no doubt did take place during the medieval period, either through influence or conscious adoption,<sup>61</sup> but the *surimantra* itself and the rites attached to it can only be understood in the specific context of Svetambara history and sectarian preoccupations.

A noteworthy feature of much of the recent scholarly literature on *mantra* is the lack of any clear historical perspective on the subject, beyond classifying it in terms of the Vedas, Puranas, and Tantras. Unquestionably, there are major difficulties involved in disentangling the relationships and trajectories of the various streams within Hindu *mantrasastra*, but the conclusion cannot be escaped that *mantra* has been enclosed by its students in a model which offers little more than organizational convenience, with no real accompanying sense of dynamic or evolution (Alper 1988, 5-6; Padoux 1989, 312-13). The questions of why specific *mantras* emerged at certain times and how they came to be projected into prominence have scarcely been asked, let alone answered.

The student of Jain *mantra* can hardly be complacent. However, it does seem that a ritual formula such as the *surimantra* can be given a richer contextualization than most comparable Hindu *mantras*. As should be clear, the *surimantra* was more than a simple formula involved in the installing of a senior ascetic or an image; rather, it was regarded by monks such as Rajasekhara and Simhatilaka as encapsulating and channeling a variety of attitudes and associations concerning Jain teachings and the nature of those who transmitted them. Furthermore, serious speculation about the power generated by the *surimantra*

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was a product of a period when various Svetambara sectarian groups were striving both to confirm their hard-won authority with lay followers and to diminish the rival claims of their competitors. Notions of historical decline and regeneration are intrinsic to the manner in which the *surimantra* was envisaged. The ability of a *suri* to become a "new

Gautama," to impress his *gaccha* with magical and soteriological powers gained through esoteric ritual, and thus to confirm the authenticity of his link to the ancient Jain past despite the encompassing presence of debased contemporary practice characteristic of a corrupt age, must have been a basic strategy in the establishment and perpetuation of sectarian identity. To understand the *surimantra* requires an appreciation of Svetambara history.

The possibility of the existence of a fully autonomous Jain *mantrasastra* should certainly not be overstated, just as it is awkward to argue for a specifically Jain version of the kindred discipline of alchemy, despite the frequency with which this is depicted in Svetambara narrative literature (Balbir 1990, 163). However, it cannot be sufficient to assert that *mantras* or esoteric modes of ritual practice were merely grafted on to Jainism, as if it were little more than a passive adjunct to Saivism. Failure to incorporate Jain mantric experience into any overall consideration of sanctified language in South Asia can only indicate assent to the scholarly marginalization of Jain history and culture, a position surely now untenable by any Indologist.

## Notes

I am grateful for having been able to discuss some of the issues raised in this chapter with Muni Jambuvijaya, Pandit Dalsukhbhai Malvania and Professor M. D. Vasantharaj. I would also like to thank the British Academy for an award which enabled me to carry out some of the necessary research.

1. Vijayakalapurnasuri 1985, 123. The standard version of the story presents Gautama as realizing that it is excessive attachment to his dead master which is preventing his enlightenment. See Vinayasagar 1987.
2. Representative examples of current research are Alper 1989 and *Mantras et Diagrammes Rituels dans l'Hindouisme*. 1986.
3. Cf. Goudriaan 1978: chapter 6. As Cort 1987: 245-46 points out, the Jain satkarman list generally substitutes the magic power of attracting women for that of killing enemies, which is found in the equivalent Hindu list, thus avoiding infringement of the principle of nonviolence. However, some medieval Svetambara teachers, perhaps reflecting Jainism's embattled position as Islam spread throughout western India, regarded it as legitimate to aspire to gain the power to destroy enemies. See Simhatilakasuri, *Mantrarajarahasya* 286, and 583-84 for two lists of eight magic acts which include killing.
4. I do not intend to pursue the question of the difference in Jainism between mantra and *vidya* (magic spell). The standard position, enunciated by the *Avasyaka*

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*Niryukti* (second/third centuries ) v. 932 (with Haribhadra ) is that the presiding deity of a *mantra* is male and of a *vidya* female. However, there is no consistency about this. For example, the medieval Svetambara Bhadracharya describes (*Anubhasiddhamantra-dvatrimsika* 2:6 ) the Aparajita mantra as presided over by Aparajitadevi. Cf. also Cort 1987: 237. According to Hemacandra, *Yogasutra* 8:72, a mantra is used for *santi* (calming) karma, whereas a *vidya* can be used for helping others.

5. Cf. Goudriaan 1978: 68 and Caillat apud *Mantras et Diagrammes Rituels*, p. 115.
6. Vadidevasuri, *Syadvadaratnakara*, p. 632. The sixth/seventh century Jinadasaganin, *Nisithacurni* 1: 70, associates the use of *mantras* and *vidya* with corrupt monks and householders.
7. An extensive Gujarati repertoire of Jain mantras is given by Gunabhadravijaya 1984.
8. For the atomic nature of language, see *Prajñāpāna Sūtra*, chapter 11. Sagarmal Jain 1986 provides a survey of Jain attitudes to language.

Early Buddhism also conceived of speech as material, although not emphasizing the issue to the same degree as the Jains, and this did not preclude the use by Buddhists of *mantras* and *mantra-like* utterances. See Jaini 1959, 96 and Skilling 1991. However, the most developed Buddhist employment of mantras is to be found in Vajrayana, which underwent extensive Saivization of a sort never experienced by Jainism. See Sanderson 1991.



9. Some Svetambaras, such as Hemacandra (*Yogasastra* 8:29-30 ), do occasionally discuss *mantra* in terms of the eternalist concept of *sabdabrahman* formulated by the Hindu grammarians.
10. Cf. Staal 1989: 254 who claims that "we are entitled to retain the general conclusion that Indian *mantras* are constructed in accordance with the phonological rules of Sanskrit." Lopez provides a valuable discussion of the ways in which Buddhist *mantras* might differ from their Hindu equivalents but also seems to accept that Sanskrit is the appropriate vehicle for mantric expression. See Lopez 1990: 358. The Jain Vadidevasuri, *Syadvadaratnakara*, p. 632, argues for the equal status of Vedic and Prakrit *mantras*. The Saiva Mahesvarananda , who advocated the use of Prakrit because of its ambivalence, would appear to be unusual. See Padoux 1990: 475.
11. Cf. Dundas 1992: 71 for the development of this *mantra*. The wording of its main section is: *namo arihantanam, namo siddhanam, n amo ayariyanam, namo uvajj-hayanam, namo loe savvasahunam*.
12. Quoted by Nemicandra Jain 1964: 99.
13. A collection of primary materials on the *Pañcanamaskara* can be found in the two volumes of *Namaskar Svadhyay*.
14. It is tempting to see the influence of prominent brahman converts, such as Siddhasena and Haribhadra, during the medieval period. However, the tradition is clear that conversion of brahmins to Jainism goes back to Mahavira's time. Cort 1987: 238-39

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suggests that the Jain interest in *vidya* was linked to the appearance of goddess cults in the religion.

15. Tiwari and Giri, 1991b, 158, quoting the sixth/seventh century *Visesavasyaka-bhasya* v. 3589.
16. They generally employ the word *namah*, governing a string of masculine datives, combined with largely masculine vocatives. The invocation *svaha*, of Vedic origin, occurs frequently.
17. For Hemacandra and Kashmir, see Bühler 1936.
18. Jinaprabhasuri, *Siddhantastavana*, v. 45, quoted by Jhavery 1944: 161 and *Suri-mantrakalpamuccaya*, vol. 2, introduction: 7.
19. Other names include *mantraraja*, *acaryamantra*, *acaryavidya*, *ganabhrn-mantra*, *ganabhrdvidya*, and *ganivijja*.
20. For the *Vardhamanavidya*, see Shah 1941 and also Jhavery 1944: 157, 159, and 165-67. *Namaskar Svadhyay* 1961: 104 gives the following version which is an amplification of the *Pañcanamaskara* formula: *om namo arihantanam om namo siddhanam om namo ayariyanam om namo uvajjhayanam om namo loe savvasahunam om namo arahao bhagavao mahai Mahavira Vaddhamanassa sijjhau me bhagavai mahai maha-vijja vire Mahavire jayavire senavire Vaddhamanavire jae vijaye jayamte aparajie anihae om hraum hrah thah thah svaha*.
21. *Surimantrabrhatkalpavivarana*, pp. 80-81.
22. *Brahmasiddhantasamuccaya*, v. 219, for which see the appendix to Punya-vijaya's edition of Haribhadra's *Yogasataka*, p. 61. A reference to the *acaryamantra* in the context of the appointment of a new *acarya* occurs at *Nirvanakalika*, p. 8a. This Sanskrit text is ascribed to Padalipta (second/third century?) but cannot be as early. Tiwari and Giri, 1991b, 167 date it at approximately 900 C.E. For the use of the *surimantra* in image installation, see the *Ceyavandanamahabhasa* of Santisuri (eleventh century), v. 412.
23. But cf. *Prabhavakacarita*, 22: 59 for Hemacandra's guru giving him the *surimantra*. Note also *Prabandhakosa*, p. 8 for the story of Jiva who with the aid of the *suri-mantra* wards off the effects of a magical attack by a Hindu yogin.
24. *Kharataragacchabhrhadgurvavali*, p. 1. Cf. Jinadattasuri, *Suguruparatantrya*, v. 8 for the *surimantra* being revealed to Vardhamana. For the Kharatara Gaccha, see Dundas 1992: 120-22.
25. *Vrddhacryaprabandhavali*, p. 89. For Simandhara, see Dundas 1992, 230-31. *Surimantrakalpamuccaya*, p. 266 contains a tradition, partly expanding that found in the Kharatara chronicles, which describes how the suri Manadeva

forgot the surimantra given to him by Haribhadra, whereupon the goddess Ambika, pleased by the intensity of his fasting, received instruction in the mantra from Stmandhara and transmitted it to Manadeva. This corrects the garbled version in Dundas 1992: 256.

26. *Kharataragacchapattavalisamgraha*, p. 34.

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27. *Vrddhacaryaprabandhavalī*, p. 93, and *Kharataragacchapattavalisamgraha*, p. 24.

28. *Kharataragacchapattavalisamgraha*, p. 55.

29. *Kharataragacchapattavalisamgraha*, pp. 25, and 48.

30. *Hirasaubhagya*, chapters 7 and 8, 17: 105 comm., and also 6: 83-99.

31. *Vijayaprasasti* 6: 43-51, 7: 30-31, and 16: 37-42, and compare Meghavijaya, *Tapagacchapattavalī*, p. 140.

32. No research has as yet been carried out into the contemporary *suri* consecration ritual, and the possible part played therein by the *surimantra* is unclear. There is evidence that the great nineteenth-century reviver of the Svetambara image-worshiping lineage tradition, Atmaramji (a.k.a. Vijayanandasuri), was interested in this matter, for there exists a manuscript of a *surimantra* annotated by him. See *Surimantrakalpa-samuccaya*, p. 267.

33. *Vidhimargaprapa*, p. 67: *na ya putthae lihijjai anabhamgappasamgao*. For an identical Sanskrit statement, see Rajasekharasuri, *Surimantrakalpa*, p. 130.

34. See Jinaprabhasuri's assertion (*Surimantrabrhatkalpavivarana*, p. 111), of a sort found in other esoteric traditions, that the *mantra* should not be given to inappropriate persons. Note also the assertion of a monk of the Devacarya Gaccha (*Suri-mantrakalpamuccaya*, p. 196 v. I) that he will reveal "neither what has been heard from the mouth of a teacher (i. e. in public?) nor what has been read in any extensive doctrinal text but what has been understood through (secret?) instruction (*uvaesa uvaladdham*)."

35. Cf., for example, *Surimantrakalpamuccaya* 55: 247. A list of important occasions for the use of the *surimantra* is given at *Surimantrakalpamuccaya*, p. 206. Of these the most significant are putting to flight inimical deities and heretics, establishing the greatness of the Jain religion, divining auguries, bringing about the prosperity of the community, and the erection and protection of temples. Simhatilakasuri, *Mantra-rajarahasya*, 92-93, and Jinaprabhasuri, *Surimantrabrhatkalpavivarana*, pp. 100-01 stress that the *mantra* should only be employed in politically calm and religiously suitable surroundings.

36. For earlier editions of some of the material published by Muni Jambuvijaya, see *Srisurimantrakalpamandoha*. An edition of the MRR was published in Bombay in 1980 as vol. 73 of the Singhi Jain Granthamala. For illustrations of a *surimantra pata*, see Pal 1994: 80, and 229. It would appear to have been the custom to present a *suri* with such a *pata* at his consecration ceremony.

37. MRR v. 323 also quotes an alternative version of the *surimantra* transmitted by Purnacandrasuri.

38. See MRR 87-90, SMMK, pp. 159-60, SMKS, pp. 187-88 and Jhavery 1944: 163-64. Cf. also SMBKV, p. 103 for the *surimantra* reaching Duhprasabha in the form of only 112 syllables. For the occurrence of a Duhprasa(b)ha in a Buddhist eschatological prophecy, see Nattier 1991: 209.

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39. See Singh 1972: 36-39 and cf. *Hirasaubhagya* 4: 44 comm. for two explanations of the designation Kotika.

40. See MRR 112-15, and cf. SMKS, pp. 191, 201, and 202. Dharmasagara, *Tapa-gacchapattavalī*, p. 45 states that the Kotika Gana got its name either through the utterance of the *surimantra* ten million (*koti*) times or because it was in possession of the *Kotyamsamantra*.

41. The wording of the *surimantra* given by Gunabhadravijaya 1984: 70, and which is ascribed to Abhayadevasuri of the Maladhariya Gaccha, differs markedly from that given by Rajasekhara in the SMK. See SMKS, pp. 346-48 for a clear overview of the latter.
42. For *pitha* in the sense of "collection," see Sanderson 1992: 292.
43. All *tirthankaras* have the faculty of *avadhi* at birth. Different types are attained as they progressively eliminate the various types of karma.
44. I follow the explanation of Malayagiri on *Avasyaka Nirukti* v. 69, cited by SMKS, p. 361.
45. Muni Jambuvijaya restores *vijjam* to the text. See SMKS, p. 347. Other versions of the opening portion of the *mantra* make extensive use of *bija* syllables. According to MRR 12, and 49, for example, om and sometimes om *hrim* should be recited before *namah*.
46. MRR 105-06 quotes an "old" (*purvacaryakṛta*) Prakrit *gatha* to the effect that it is through the goodwill of Gautama, who is endowed with the *labdhi* of the "unfailing kitchen," that there is a community of upright monks in India. According to Simhatilaka, if recited 108 times in the morning, the verse will give clothes and food.
47. *Vaggu* can be derived from Sanskrit *valgu*. For the goddess Tribhuvanasvaminī, cf. Bhadrāgupta, *Anubhavasiddhamantradvatrimśika* 1:19 and 4:32, and also SMKS, p. 204 where she is said to have been a laywoman in Bahubali's time. It seems reasonable to conclude that this deity is a version of the Kashmiri Tripurasundari.
48. See Dhaky 1981: 98, and Dundas 1992: 103, and 192-94. According to MRR 10 and SMKS, p. 203, Brahmi is the presiding deity of the first section of the *surimantra* because she heard Rsabha instructing her brother Bahubali. SMBKV, p. 92 links the invocation of Bahubali to notions of physical strength and beauty.
49. SMK, p. 119, deriving *kali* from *kala*, defined as "production of remarkable actions (*satisayakriya*)." Cf. SMBKV, p. 95 where *Kali* is linked with the removal of the doubts which overcame the Jain community after the deaths of Mahavira and his disciples. Other transmissions of the *surimantra* also assign specific meaning or significance to the components of the third section. Cf. MRR 223 where *kiri*, *piri* etc. are linked to Jain ontological categories, and also compare Sanderson, 1995, 59 for the similar Saiva hermeneutic technique of *nirvacana*. Simhatilaka claims (MRR 246) that his explanation of such terms is only a pointer (*digmatram*) and that those who know the Purva scriptures are familiar with the correct explanation.

50. Rajasekhara refers (SMK, p. 119) to a general principle according to which a *homa* ritual is not performed with reference to a *mantra* whose presiding deity is male.
51. See also SMMK, pp. 155-57 and SMKS, pp. 249-51 for instructions on how to write the *surimantra* within a *yantra* diagram. Generally, the concluding section of the *mantra* is placed near the center of the *yantra*. Cf. also MRR, 32-37.
52. Bringing about wisdom or learning, curing illness, removing poison, freeing from captivity, creating prosperity, rendering fruitless another's magic spell, destroying faults and quieting the inauspicious.
53. See also SMBKV, p. 98: "the first four sections of the *surimantra* consist of limitless knowledge, faith, energy and bliss. If the meditator continually contemplates these sections, then he masters all four qualities. So the *mantraraja*, the fifth section which (in this transmission) repeats the word *meru* seven times, is the master of the first four sections which contain the four limitless qualities, destroys all karma and has the form of *moksa*." This is repeated by SMKS, p. 201, with a different number of *meru*. SMMK, p. 153 states that the fifth section can be used to eliminate karma and, accompanied by the proper ritual, eliminate enemies. Cf. SMBKV, pp. 98, and 100.
54. SMK, p. 121: *iha ca prathamapithe matijñanam, dvitiye srutajñanam, trtiye 'vadhijñanam, caturthe manahparyayajñanam, pañcame pithe smaryamane kevala-jñanam unmilatiti vṛddhah*.
55. For the identity of the fifth section, the *Mantraraja*, which "constitutes the *arhat* state" (*arhatsvarupa*), and the *surimantra* because of the essential lack of difference (*abheda*) between the teacher, i. e., the *arhat*, and his disciples, see

SMBKV, p. 98, and SMKS, pp. 206-7.

56. For the Jain Ganesa, see Tiwari and Giri 1991a. See also Dundas 1992: 33-34; and Jhavery 1944: 173-74. Neither Gautama nor Ganesa play any significant devotional or ritual role in Digambara Jainism.

57. See Vinayasagar, 1987, 21, and 104.

58. Cf. SMKS, p. 228 for appearing like Gautama (*Gautama ivavabhasate*), p. 240 v. 17 for becoming Gautama through recitation of a section of the mantra, and p. 249 vv. 15-16 for fasting and meditating upon the *surimantra* given by the teacher making one, like Gautama, a receptacle of many *labdhi*. Cf. MRR 224 for the *suri* becoming like another arhat, and SMMK, 3: 166: "in that *samavasarana* (i.e the mandala ) the *suri*, (thinking) "I am Gautama," should worship him devoutly with camphor etc., and meditating thus upon the lotus of his navel, (he becomes) omniscient."

59. Although MRR 541 does use the expression "with the left hand" (*vama-hastena*), there is no suggestion here of any antinomian behavior. Note also the application to the *surimantra* (MRR 471, SMMK, p. 172, and SMKS, p. 211) of the theory of four levels of speech (*vaikhari*, *pasyanti*, *madhyama*, and *para*), foreign to Jain views of language but common in Hindu Tantra, especially of the non-dualist Saiva variety. See Padoux, 1990, chap. 4.

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60. For "becoming a Siva," see Davis 1991:chapter 3.

61. Influence may conceivably have been directed in the opposite direction. Saiva Siddhanta's view of the material "Impurity" (*mala*) which prevents realization of the soul's real nature is reminiscent of the earlier Jain notion of the materiality of karma.

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## Chapter Four

### Hemacandra and Sanskrit Poetics

Gary A. Tubb

As a writer on Sanskrit poetics, Acarya Hemacandra has received mixed treatment at the hands of modern scholars. When they have used him as a colleague in their studies, their response has sometimes been one of respect and gratitude for his extensive contributions to the preservation of many passages of Indian poetry and poetics. But when they have used him as data for the history of noteworthy developments in Sanskrit poetics, their comments have been harsh. It is then that his labors are seen as devoid of originality, and his quotations as plagiarism.

Whether to view Hemacandra as colleague or subject was not a topic of discussion among the scholars of poetics who wrote in Sanskrit, nor did they accuse him of the faults just mentioned. While Hemacandra's extensive quotations from earlier works are condemned as plagiarism by many modern scholars, his practices are not reprehensible by traditional Indian standards, 1 and he may even have annoyed some readers of his own time by so frequently naming the source of even the most familiar passages.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, while nearly all of the modern scholars who discuss Hemacandra complain of his "lack of originality," it is precisely in his constant reference to a wide range of other works that Hemacandra might have seemed most original to many readers within the tradition, for in taking material from what had been distinct fields of study and weaving it into the texture of a formal treatise on poetics, he chose to break down barriers that earlier treatises had staunchly maintained.<sup>3</sup>

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Ironically, it is this aspect of comprehensive investigation that brings Hemacandra closer than the other Sanskrit poeticians



to the modern scholars who condemn his lack of originality. More than any other treatise in the tradition, his work approaches, as Edwin Gerow has put it, "the standards of modern critical scholarship."<sup>4</sup> And it is also this attitude that, more than any other feature of Hemacandra's work, helps to answer the question raised by the modern custom of grouping his treatise with those of his fellow Jains:<sup>5</sup> Is there anything distinctive about the Jain approach to poetics that separates their works from those of other writers on Sanskrit poetics?<sup>6</sup>

The amalgamative approach characteristic of Hemacandra is in fact a distinctive feature of a whole body of work by Jain scholars. It first appears clearly not only in Hemacandra, but also in his more influential colleague Vagbhata,<sup>7</sup> as well as in the works of several of their younger contemporaries among the Jain mendicants of twelfth-century Gujarat, most notably Manikyacandra, who wrote one of the most illustrious of the early commentaries on Mammata's *Kavyaprakasa*, and Ramacandra and Gunacandra, two of Hemacandra's disciples, who were joint authors of the *Natyadarpana*, a treatise on dramaturgy and poetics. The approach reflected in their works paved the way for similar endeavors later among both Jains and others. Underlying their approach was a shared attitude, an intellectual stance that Gerow, in discussing Hemacandra, described as "a comprehensive skepticism rare among Indian *sastris*."<sup>8</sup> The question of the origins of that attitude is a complex one, but the scholarly activity in which it was applied was clearly occasioned by specific developments both in the political history of western India and in the intellectual history of Indian poetics.

To begin with the political history: Hemacandra and Vagbhata composed their works on poetics in the reign of the Calukya ruler Jayasimha Siddharaja, who was intent on rivaling the imperial status held formerly by the rulers of Malava to his east, and in particular by the eleventh-century Paramara king Bhoja of Dhara. Bhoja had been famous above all for his support of literature and the study of literature. In addition to his patronage of individual poets, Bhoja had assembled a magnificent academy of pandits, and with their aid he himself had published encyclopedic treatises on language and literature and on many other topics as well. He was also reported to have made disparaging remarks about the intellectual powers of the inhabitants of Gujarat in the course of praising his own pandits.<sup>9</sup> According to the biography of Hemacandra given in the *Prabhavakacarita* of Prabhadra,<sup>10</sup> it was Jayasimha's jealousy of these accomplishments that caused him to commission the first of Hemacandra's scholarly works. When Jayasimha came across a copy of one of Bhoja's grammars and asked what it was, Hemacandra explained that Bhoja had written works on grammar, poetics, astrology, and logic, and proceeded to give an account of them. The king asked why his own library did not hold such books and whether Gujarat could not produce such scholars, and appealed to Hemacandra to write an even better grammar. The result was

Hemacandra's *Siddhahema* grammar, followed, as Hemacandra himself has told us, <sup>11</sup> by his work on poetics.

To compete with the literary output of Bhoja and his academy is necessarily an encyclopedic undertaking, both in terms of the range of subjects to be covered and in terms of the comprehensiveness of the treatment of each subject. As an exercise in the extension of control, the project dovetails both with the campaign of King Jayasimha to demonstrate and extend the range of his command and with what we may presume to have been Hemacandra's own interest in demonstrating and extending his own role.<sup>12</sup> These concerns might seem sufficient in themselves to account for what I have referred to as the "amalgamative" approach of the Jain scholars to poetics, even aside from any consideration of the scholarly curiosity or philosophical attitudes those scholars may have had. Yet, amalgamation involves not simply the accumulation of items, but also their unification, and in each of these projects of inclusiveness the notion of command is as important as that of extent. It is here that Hemacandra and his colleagues appear to have staked their claim to the bettering of Bhoja.

In the range of subjects covered, Hemacandra's output approached that of Bhoja and his academy, at least in areas connected with language and literature: Hemacandra produced a dozen works of major importance on grammar, lexicography, poetics, and metrics. In the comprehensiveness of the individual works no treatise on poetics by Hemacandra or by anyone else can match Bhoja's *Srngara-prakasa* in sheer size and in the number of items listed and examples cited, but how much of this material is actually incorporated into a body of theory is another question. A concern for quality as well as quantity is explicit in the story of the commission of Hemacandra's treatise on grammar, where the discussion of what that treatise should include not only the goal of being more detailed than the short Kalapaka grammar, but also the requirement that it should avoid the Vedicistic snootiness of the Brahmanical school of Paninian grammar.<sup>13</sup> And, in fact, the grammar that Hemacandra produced, rather than striving to display as much grammatical information as possible, jettisons all the rules for Vedic forms and reorganizes what remains into a more



practical arrangement. In his other treatises as well, the goal of usefulness is apparent, and on the subject of poetics in particular one may summarize the difference between Bhoja and Hemacandra by saying that Bhoja aimed to be as detailed as possible, without regard for the provenance or coherence of the material collected, while Hemacandra aimed at presenting a full account of the current state of the art in literary theory, even at the cost of ignoring or explicitly excluding entire catalogues of obsolete or peripheral information.

In Bhoja's defense it should be said that the characterization of his works on poetics as "inclusive encyclopaedias of poetic lore without any overall attempt at coherence, or even organization"<sup>14</sup> is not strictly true, for there is one very visible principle of organization at work in both of his treatises on poetics, the

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*Sarasvatikanthabharana* and the larger *Srngaraprakasa*. In keeping with his general emphasis the principle is a purely quantitative one: an insistence on attaining numerical symmetry in the treatment of each topic, by producing, throughout a given section, lists of items totaling a given number, usually twenty-four or some other multiple of six. <sup>15</sup> Unfortunately this is a principle that works against the achievement of the larger goal of coherence, because time after time the required quota can be met only by dragging in items that would otherwise never have been included, resulting in the display of many peculiar versions of poetic theory, the resuscitation of countless particulars that had long been discredited or forgotten, and, as a last resort, the fabrication of categories devoid of precedent and justification.

Nor should one suppose that Bhoja was oblivious to the need for a unifying principle. His most distinctive contribution in terms of theory was in fact the radically unifying doctrine that all aesthetic moods can be reduced to the single mood of the erotic. That this view proved unsuccessful, both as an explanation of past literature and as a basis for future theory, was the result not only of Bhoja's own approach to poetics, but also of an accident of timing. Bhoja lived at a turning point in the history of Indian poetics that was not of his making; he was so close in time to pivotal events in that history that he could scarcely have assessed their long-term impact. Hemacandra and his colleagues, in contrast, came to the study of poetics after the implications of those developments had been argued for some time, but before the fruits of such discussions had been fully consolidated. They were fortunate in finding themselves at precisely the point in the history of Sanskrit poetics most favorable to a review of the accumulated corpus of theory and analysis.

This brings us to the second of the two historical considerations relevant to Hemacandra's activity in poetics, that of the intellectual history of poetics in particular. The several traditions of poetics and related bodies of knowledge drawn on by Hemacandra and Vagbhata in their works on poetics have generally been divided into two broad categories of thought. One current was, of course, that of the formal academic disciplines, the *sastric* current that in early times was itself divided into two separate disciplines: the *alankarasastra*, which dealt with the stanzaic poetry of the court epic and related genres, and the *natyasastra*, which dealt with the dramatic genres. It was the former *sastra* that provided the formal setting for the works of both scholars, as the titles of their treatises indicate, and it was the gradual growth of encounters between the two *sastras* in earlier centuries that set the stage for the achievements of all the major works of the twelfth-century Jain authors on poetics.

The other broad current of thought, which played a very noticeable role in the works of Hemacandra and Vagbhata but which became even more prominent in works by Jains of the century after theirs, is more varied both in the traditions of thought that it comprises and in the contents of each of those traditions. As we shall see, it includes the partly overlapping categories of what have been called "Puranic" and "encyclopedic" works, and also the various types of works devoted

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to *kavisiksha*, the practical instruction and training of poets. As a group this broad current of thought can be defined only as being different from the more scholarly *sastric* tradition.

In contrast to the very diverse origins of the works associated with this second broad current, the surviving treatises on poetics of the *sastric* type come from a group of sources whose range is strikingly narrow even in comparison with other formal *sastras*. Despite indications that Buddhist scholars were prominent in the early history of Sanskrit poetics, <sup>16</sup> the formal study of Sanskrit poetry until the time of Hemacandra appears to have been dominated by Brahmins. Unlike other recognized branches of *sastric* enquiry, however, it has always been an object of suspicion among very conservative

Brahmans. To the Mimamsakas, repeatedly accused by the poeticians of being antipoetical because their hearts had been dried up by too much study of the Veda,<sup>17</sup> and to other hardcore members of Brahmanical society, the study of poetry has typically been viewed as frivolous at best, and perilous at worst. This opinion has had important practical effects on Sanskrit poetics, not least because it must have been an important reason for the remarkable geographical restriction of the discipline throughout the period of its greatest growth.

Like the writing of mundane history, which seems to have been similarly disdained or feared by the most conservative Brahmins, the formal study of poetics was for many centuries almost exclusively confined to Kashmir. We cannot be certain of the geographical locations of the authors of the earliest surviving treatises of the *alankarasastra*, Dandin (who was most likely a Southerner) and Bhamaha (who may well have been Kashmiri), both of whom wrote sometime around A.D. 700. As far as we can determine, however, from their time onward for nearly half a millennium up to the time of Hemacandra himself (ca. A.D. 1140) all the formal treatises by individual authors within the discipline were the work of Brahmins of Kashmir. The active awareness that the Jain scholars of twelfth-century Gujarat had of intellectual developments in Kashmir,<sup>18</sup> and their resulting role in helping to end the geographical isolation of poetics in India, are important parts of the history of Indian poetics.

Of these several bodies of thought the *alankarasastra*, with its focus on the most prestigious form of poetry, the *mahakavya* or court epic, was itself the most prestigious form of literary study, and it is here that Vagbhata and Hemacandra chose to place their own works. Of the related disciplines to be distinguished from the *alankarasastra*, the closest to it is the *sastra* devoted to dramaturgy, the *natyasastra*, which takes as its foundational work the ancient compilation of the same name, attributed to Bharata. After Bharata the earliest identifiable scholars in this field correspond closely to the writers on *alanikarasastra* who followed Dandin and Bhamaha, both in their dates and in their apparently being located in Kashmir. The two *sastras* even share some of their brightest scholars, but despite these connections the early works of the *alankarasastra* expressly refer to the *natyasastra* as a separate discipline. Nonetheless some aspects of dramaturgy,

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especially the aesthetic theory surrounding the notion of the *rasa* or dramatic moods, were gradually brought into discussions within the *alankarasastra* itself, and increasingly so as formal poetics broadened the range of the poetry it sought to analyze.<sup>19</sup> The pivotal work in the mingling of the concerns of the two *sastras* was the *Dhvanyaloka* of Anandavardhana (ca. A.D. 900), which presented the theory of poetic suggestion as a special semantic function in poetry and emphasized the evoking of *rasa* as its most important use.<sup>20</sup>

The unification of disciplines that was foreshadowed in the achievement of the *Dhvanyaloka* required several preparatory accomplishments. Amid the vigorous reaction that followed within the *alankarasastra* in Kashmir (most notably in the works of Mukulabhata, Pratiharenduraja, Kuntaka, and Mahimabhata), the theories of the *Dhvanyaloka* found their classical elaboration and refinement in the works of Abhinavagupta (ca. A.D. 1000), and the views that he set forth became the established doctrines. Late in the eleventh century, they were duly incorporated into a full treatise on the *alankarasastra*, the *Kavyaprakasa* of Mammata Bhatta, the culmination of the Kashmiri school of poetics and still the most widely cited treatise within the discipline. It was Mammata's success at consolidating the new theories into a systematic presentation that was directly responsible for much of Hemacandra's advantage over Bhoja in developing a coherent treatment of poetics in general. Meanwhile works within both *sastras* took note of the new doctrines while refining the treatment of particular bodies of material: the poetic figures were analyzed in a more logical fashion than before in Ruyyaka's *Alankarasarvasva*, and the aspects of the old *Natyasastra* that remain relevant in plays that are read rather than performed were covered much more intelligibly in Dhananjaya's *Dasarupaka*, but the two disciplines were still being approached only through separate treatises.

The Jain scholars of the twelfth century thus found before them two fully developed *sastras*, each of which had recently been given more comprehensive and logical treatment than ever before, as a result of theoretical developments that drew on both disciplines and cried out for their formal unification. They were also aware, as we shall see, of works outside the mainstream of either *sastra* that demonstrated the possibility of joining the two: the "Puranic" and encyclopedic works of the eleventh century, the most massive of which, the monstrous *Srngaraprakasa* of Bhoja, used material from both *sastras* but did so in such ideosyncratic ways as to remain outside either *sastra*. Among works that could reasonably claim to be recognized members of the formal tradition of the *alankarasastra*, it was the treatises of the Jains that carried out the first large-scale incorporation of material that had previously been segregated in texts devoted to dramaturgy.

Vagbhata devoted the final portion of his *Vagbhatalankara* to *rasa* and to dramatic characterization. Hemacandra likewise gave a full treatment of both *rasa* and characterization, and fully included the dramatic genres within his discussion of types of poetry. Finally, from the other side of the former divide, the *Natyadarpana* of Hemacandra's pupils Ramacandra and Gunacandra, while itself a treatise on dra-

maturgy, included the new doctrines of poetics on a scale that had never before been attempted in a work of the *natyasastra*, covering in depth such topics as poetic faults in the evocation of *rasa*.

Although there had been earlier works outside the formal *sastras* that drew on this wider range of material, and although scholars within the *sastras* had clearly been aware of both disciplines all along, it was the Jains who first worked from a respectable stance fully within the *alankarasastra* tradition to expand the formal possibilities, by declining to continue either the traditional segregation of the two *sastras* or the Kashmiri stranglehold on the *alankarasastra* in particular. In retrospect the twelfth-century Jains appear as a bridge between the cumulative achievements of the earlier scholars in Kashmir and the later works from southeastern India that successively refined the unified presentation of those achievements.

In terms of the formal *alankarasastra* the works of Hemacandra and his colleagues of the twelfth century were separated by a considerable gap from the works of the southeastern writers who followed them Vidyadhara, Vidyanatha, and Visvanathaall of whom, along with the later of the two Jain scholars named Vagbhata, wrote in the fourteenth century. Perhaps as a result of the spread of Muslim control in the north, 21 the thirteenth century was marked by a conspicuous lack of sastric treatises on poetics. The gap is partially made up for by a profusion of works on poetics of another sort by Jain writers, and this brings us to the topic of the bodies of thought that lay beyond the formal *sastras*.

From early times several forms of non-sastric or quasi-sastric attention to literary topics had coexisted with the formal academic study of related topics. Unlike the formal treatises, these streams of thought were not confined to Kashmir, and more often than not were the work of non-Brahmans. They include much material in the form of anonymous compilations. Of the treatises attached to known individuals one of the earliest, and, perhaps the most influential of all, was the *Kavyamimamsa* of the prolific court poet Rajasekhara, (ca. A.D. 900), a work that not only exemplified several of the strands prominent in later non-sastric texts on poetics,22 but also loomed large in the works of Hemacandra and the other Jains even within their more academic treatises. After Rajasekhara, the general pattern of development among the non-sastric streams as a whole followed the same general pattern as in the formal *sastras* but with characteristic differences: the eleventh century was a period in which the cumulative work of earlier times was presented in rather chaotic form (in this case chiefly among non-Brahman sources and largely outside Kashmir); the twelfth century was marked by the incorporation of this material into works written by Jains; and the thirteenth century was dominated by the continuing production of works of these types (here contrasting with the lull in sastric treatises during the same century).

In the broadest terms there are two large classes of non-sastric material reflected in works by Jain scholars. One is the whole group of discussions connected with poetry and literary theory collected in certain of the Puranas and in works

of a similar nature ascribed to individual scholars. Of the actual Puranas the *Visnudharmottarapurana* seems to preserve the most primitive material on poetics, 23 and of the individual treatises the one by Rajasekhara has already been mentioned. After these two works the first noticeable blossoming of this general category was during the eleventh century, to which belong the material on poetics in the *Agnipurana* and the encyclopedic works ascribed to Rajasekhara's fellow Ksatriya, King Bhoja of Dhara.24 For our purposes the most interesting of the other scholars who are probably to be assigned to the eleventh century is the mysterious figure of Sauddhodani, who was the author of *sutras* that later formed the basis of the *Alankarasekhara* of Kesavamisra, and who not only appears to have been a Jain, but also to have served later Jain scholars as a conduit for many of the details of this floating mass of material.25 In succeeding centuries, the "Puranic" body of material, rather than being presented in further compilations or encyclopedias, was partially incorporated into more mainstream works, largely at the hands of Jains. In the twelfth century the works of Hemacandra and Vagbhata brought into the formal *alankarasastra* much that had come from the "Puranic" sources. Similarly, in the thirteenth century, Narendraprabhasuri brought new material to bear on the analysis of alliteration in his

The other large class of non-sastric treatments of poetry was that of the *kavisikṣa*, or instruction of poets in the practical business of composing poetry. Like the Puranic and encyclopedic types of works, the *sikṣa* works, so far as they have been preserved, appear to have blossomed in the eleventh century, especially in the works of Sauddhodani and of Ksemendra, the polymath of Kashmir, who was probably a non-Brahman.<sup>27</sup> The subsequent history of this class of works was dominated throughout by Jain authors. Thus, the twelfth century saw the composition of the prototypical (and still unpublished) *Kavisikṣa* by Jayamangala, a contemporary of Vagbhata and Hemacandra at the court of Jayasimha Siddharaja, and the preeminent works of the thirteenth century were the *Kavyakalpalata* of Arisimha and Amaraçandra, and the *Kavikalpalata* of Devesvara. Of works in this genre by non-Jains, the best-known is the sixteenth-century *Alankarasekhara* of Kesavamisra, which, as I have said, is based on *sūtras* borrowed from Sauddhodani, and which draws much of its further material from the Jain writer Arisimha. The *kavisikṣa* material is yet another body of knowledge drawn on by Hemacandra and the other Jain scholars in their treatises on poetics. In his section on the causes of poetry, for example, Hemacandra devotes extended attention to the practical training of a poet and to the topic of borrowing from other poets.

The incorporation of material from all these bodies of knowledge is an obvious feature of so many of the works on poetics by Jain authors that it serves as the clearest distinguishing characteristic of Jain works as a group. Two things beyond authorship separate these works from the many treatises by non-Jains that also refer to material from non-sastric sources: the frequency with which the Jain authors bring such material into their works, and the fact that, where their treatises deal with poetics proper, they are situated within the formal tradition de-

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spite their apparent deviations from it. Works like those of Rajasekhara and Bhoja are eclectic and idiosyncratic throughout when judged by the standards of the sastric scholarly tradition; as Gerow has put it, they are "works so bizarre that they are difficult to include in the history of any subject, especially poetics,"<sup>28</sup> and Bhoja's encyclopedic surveys remain within the category of "Puranic" works "not only because of the links to the Agni-Purana, but in view of their nature, as being uncritical compilations of the most diverse views."<sup>29</sup> In contrast, a work like Hemacandra's is entitled to inclusion among the academic treatises precisely because of its critical approach: it may be considered a work of *sastra* by virtue of its overall sobriety and organization, whatever one may think of its creativity. To put it another way, the impression one has on reading even the more eclectic of Hemacandra's passages is that the material is included there because Hemacandra felt it deserved to be accepted into the sastric treatment of the subject, and not because he wished to offer a non-sastric or extra-sastric treatment of the subject.

To say that Hemacandra's work differs from Bhoja's more in its spirit of critical inquiry than in its use of a wide range of sources is to suggest that more than mere chronology is needed to explain the difference. Given the importance placed by Jain philosophers on taking differing points of view into consideration, the question naturally arises of whether the attitude of the Jain scholars toward poetics was a reflection of a more general intellectual stance, one that might help account for Hemacandra's scholarly approach beyond the factors of political and intellectual history already mentioned. Hemacandra himself is on record as having lectured King Siddharaja on the value of giving respectful attention to every system of philosophy,<sup>30</sup> and where it is specifically systems of philosophy that are involved this attitude on the part of Jain scholars is well documented.<sup>31</sup> But there is no indication in Hemacandra's own work on poetics that he considered the study of poetry to serve any specifically philosophical purpose; his treatment of the uses of poetry near the beginning of his treatise is a fairly conventional one, in which pleasure is presented as the primary purpose. Furthermore, the story of Hemacandra's insistence on respect for the teachings of all systems seems aimed at securing the king's attention to the Jains in a court dominated by the Saiva religion,<sup>32</sup> while in his work on poetics Hemacandra is dealing with material that in terms of specific contents does not seem to include anything that the Jains could lay particular claim to.

Distinctively Jain religious and philosophical doctrines are in fact surprisingly difficult to find in the works on poetics. Two principal candidates have been proposed. One, ironically enough,<sup>33</sup> is an allegedly distinctive insistence on the primacy of imagination as a cause of poetry. The other is the contention that not every category of aesthetic experience is inherently blissful, a notion that after the time of Abhinavagupta is expressed only in works by Jain authors,<sup>34</sup> apparently in rejection of the Brahmanical philosophy underlying Abhinavagupta's theory.<sup>35</sup>

Neither doctrine is prominent in Hemacandra's own work. He does use Jain terminology in discussing imagination at the beginning of his treatise, but the



overall content of his remarks has many parallels in previous works by non-Jains. And on the details of aesthetic experience his account is explicitly based directly on Abhinavagupta. 36 Nothing in his treatment of either topic suggests that Hemacandra's goal was anything other than to produce a comprehensive treatment of poetics as he found it in his sources.

This goal brings us back to our original topic of Hemacandra as colleague, and it is in the accomplishment of this goal that his treatise achieves its greatest successes. As a critical survey of the state of the art of Sanskrit literary theory as it stood in his day, Hemacandra's textbook remains extraordinarily useful in at least three important ways.

First, as I have said, Hemacandra is our most reliable source for the contents and actual wording of many of the most important passages in the works of the scholars who came before him. We have already seen instances in which the use of a quotation from Hemacandra is essential in reconstructing crucial statements in the expository works of Abhinavagupta and others. The same is true for the poetic examples he quotes as well, and especially for quotations from works in Prakrit: even where we have several sources for a given Prakrit verse, Hemacandra's version is often the only one that even fits the meter,<sup>37</sup> and for this the widespread use of Prakrit in the scholarly lives of the Jains who transmitted Hemacandra's text has probably been as important as Hemacandra's own diligence and expertise. In short, Hemacandra has likely done more than any other scholar, past or present, to identify and explain the most important pronouncements and illustrations of Indian literary theory and to preserve them from corruption and loss.

Second, as I have emphasized in describing his advances over the surveys of poetics attempted by Bhoja, Hemacandra brings an approach of informed judgment to bear on all his material. In these further tasks of identifying and explaining the important products of past scholarship, beyond the basic task of preserving them, Hemacandra once again shows a concern for dealing with the received theory on its own terms, even while expanding the overall framework of formal theory by drawing on a less restricted range of material. Although he does not shrink from making critical comments on the standard doctrines of poetics, his goal in doing so seems to be the enhancement of the internal consistency of existing systems rather than the introduction of competing systems. His departures from his sources, so far as we can detect them, are on the level of critical rearrangements and refinements in emphasis, and here there is much evidence of the judicious nature of his critical survey. In addition to the demands of judgment inherent in the selection and presentation of so wide a range of material, both expository and illustrative, Hemacandra shows considerable skill in gently correcting his sources where he finds it necessary: he rejects some of even the most famous of the received categories of poetic analysis on logical grounds, and reclassifies others for the same reason, so that despite the rumors of his uncritical verbosity Hemacandra chops away at the standard schemes, from the uses of poetry discussed at the beginning of his work, to the

list that gave the *alankarasastra* its name, pruning the roster of poetic ornaments in the face of the prevailing practice of striving to add to the total inventory with each new treatise.

Finally, in terms of Hemacandra's critical achievement one should also consider the pedagogic effectiveness of the arrangement of his work, which is divided into three levels: the *Kavyanusasana* itself in the form of brief *sutras*, a prose *vrtti* on them entitled *Alankaracudamani*, and a more difficult and extensive commentary on both called the *Viveka*. The most likely explanation for this tripartite structure is that while the *sutras* were, as usual, meant to be memorized, the two levels of commentary were intended for different levels of students. An advanced class could thus take up the *Viveka* and pursue higher reaches of scholarship while retaining the basic framework that they were already familiar with from their study of the *Alankaracudamani* at an intermediate level. Even for a modern reader outside the traditional classroom the complete work still lends itself to a graduated approach towards a detailed knowledge of the received body of Sanskrit literary theory.

The most advanced level, the *Viveka* or "Discrimination," begins with a brief statement of its purpose: "to explain some things that have already been strung together, and to string together some others for the first time." 38 For all its modesty this is a fair indication of the thrust of Hemacandra's work: to reach wide, to gather carefully, and to bring it all together.



## Notes

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1. The Sanskrit sources on this topic, among which the works of Hemacandra and the scholars associated with him are especially prominent, are summarized in Kulkarni 1954.
2. In many instances a precise citation by Hemacandra is the only surviving reference to an identification that must have been well-known to his predecessors who used the same quotation but did not bother to give the exact source. See Krishnamoorthy 1975:46-47.
3. For a summary of Hemacandra's sources see Kulkarni 1964.
4. Gerow 1977:279.
5. De 1960:189, "Hemacandra and the Vagbhata"; similarly Gerow 1977:278, "It is convenient to group them together." The other standard history, Kane 1971, avoids this grouping by a strictly chronological approach.

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6. Earlier work on this question, represented most expertly by the articles of V. M. Kulkarni (especially Kulkarni 1974 and Kulkarni 1975), has tended to focus on specific doctrines rather than on more general aspects.
7. Unless otherwise stated, references to Vagbhata refer to the twelfth-century Vagbhata, son of Soma and author of the *Vagbhatalankara*, rather than to the later Vagbhata, son of Nemikumara and author of the *Kavyanusasana*.
8. Gerow 1977:279.
9. See the story of the response of King Bhima of Gujarat to one such remark, recorded by Merutunga in Tawney 1901:66.
10. The story is summarized in Parikh and Kulkarni 1964: intro. pp. 42-43.
11. *Kavyanusasana* 1.2 and *Alankaracudamani* thereon.
12. I am indebted to John E. Cort for his enlightening comments on the "cosmopolitan" aspects of all the strategies involved here.
13. Parikh and Kulkarni 1964: intro., pp. 42-43, using the *Prabhavakacarita*.
14. Gerow 1977:259, referring to the works of both Bhoja and Rajasekhara.
15. In Kane 1971:258, the oddity of many of Bhoja's views and Bhoja's mania for numerical symmetry are mentioned separately, perhaps implying the causal connection between the two.
16. Bhamaha is usually taken to be a Buddhist, and there is a strong tradition that the Buddhist philosopher Dharmakirti wrote a work on poetics; see Ingalls 1965:43, note 51. For a general study of the influence of Buddhist philosophy on early Sanskrit poetics see Bhattacharyya 1956.
17. As on so many other points of Sanskrit literary theory the locus classicus is a passage in the *Abhinavabharati* that has long since been missing in action; see Ingalls, Masson, and Patwardhan 1990:73, note 10.
18. Hemacandra himself made the fetching of eight particular texts on grammar from Kashmir a condition for his writing of the *Siddhahema* grammar (see Parikh and Kulkarni 1964, intro., p. 43), and it is obvious that he had a wide familiarity with the latest Kashmiri works on poetics as well. Even before Hemacandra's time the eleventh-century Svetambara Jain scholar Namisadhu had done important work within the Kashmiri tradition of poetics.
19. Gerow 1977: 250ff. gives a very useful account of the historical background, including the role of the more

"dramatic" poetry of folk literature and its imitation in Sanskrit, and the importance of the loss of patronage for the performance of literary works of different types, resulting in their being treated equally as works to be read.

20. For a general account of the history of this development see Ingalls, Masson, and Patwardhan 1990: intro.

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21. This is the explanation offered in De 1960:2.235.

22. The "Puranic" nature of Rajasekhara's work is described well in Gerow 1977, 260, where his "Agni-Purana-like anecdotalism" is referred to; see also the contrast with the concerns of the santric approach in the remarks on Rajasekhara's "attempt to give a socio-history of poetry" in Gerow 1977:271.

23. Tubb 1979:48-69.

24. V. Raghavan's treatment of the larger of Bhoja's two main works (Raghavan 1963) is also the most detailed account of the sources available to Bhoja and his contemporaries.

25. The placing of Sauddhodani in the eleventh century and the identification of him as a Jain are two of the gems of scholarship buried in Vamanacharya Jhalakikar's Sanskrit introduction to his edition of Mammata (Jhalakikar 1889:16, 18). For an account of other theories of his identity and for an examination of Sauddhodani's connections with other scholars see Tubb 1979:38-48. Sauddhodani's views were clearly related to those of the *Agnipurana* and of Bhojathe crosscurrents here are so complex that it is impossible to trace the direction of any borrowing from one of the three to another and Sauddhodani himself seems to have been the direct source of some of the material in the work of the first Vagbhata, who was in turn followed by many of the later Jain writers.

26. See Krishnamoorthy 1975:48.

27. For the arguments on Ksemendra's caste see Dattaray 1974:64-69.

28. Gerow 1977:259.

29. Gerow 1977:270.

30. See the story in the *Prabandhacintamani*, Tawney 1901:105-6.

31. Folkert 1993, and especially part 2, "A Jain Approach to Non-Jains: The 363-Account."

32. I thank John E. Cort for pointing this out.

33. The irony is noticed in Gerow 1977:279.

34. Primarily in the *Natyadarpana* of Hemacandra's students Ramacandra and Gunacandra, and in the seventeenth-century *Kavyaprakasakhandana* of Siddhicandra. For an overview see Kulkarni 1974.

35. Against Kulkarni 1975:54, and 1983:182-83, I believe that Siddhicandra reveals a specific philosophical basis for his view. I hope to explain this fully in an article to be published separately.

36. Hemacandra's long quotation of Abhinavagupta's discussion of *rasa*, occurring in the first part of the *Viveka* on the second chapter of the *Kavyanusasana* (Parikh and Kulkarni 1964:89-103), ends with a respectful citation of Abhinavagupta as the

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source of the passage: "iti sriman abhinavaguptacaryah. etanmatam eva casmabhir upajivitam iti."

37. For an example see Ingalls, Masson, and Patwardhan 1990:451, note 5.

## Chapter Five

## Erotic Excess and Sexual Danger in the Civakacintamani

James Ryan

*Beautiful women with long, sword-like eyes painted with kohl plowed with desirable breasts into saffron smeared chests, sowed garlands and sandal and produced a crop of every delight in copulation*

Description of the city of Emankatam (CC 133)

*His garlands ripped, the saffron on him was ruined, his chaplet was charred because of the enthusiasm of intercourse her girdles broke, her beautiful anklets cried out and the honeybees were scared off as the young couple made love.*  
Civakan and his wife Patumai (CC 1349)

The *Civakacintamani* (henceforth CC), written by the Jain Digambara Muni Tiruttakkatevar in approximately the ninth century, is honored as one of the "Five Great Epics" (*aimperumkappiyankal*) in Tamil literature. A mark of its wide literary acceptance and recognition among the Tamils is that the authoritative commentary on the CC was written by one of the preeminent commentators of Tamil literary history, Naccinarkkiniyar, a fourteenth-century Brahman. There is a story told, also, in the *Cekkilarayanar Puranam* (1313 C.E.), the text recounting the life of the great Saiva *bhakta* Cekkilar who

wrote the *Periyapuranam* (the widely honored compendium of stories of the Saiva saints), that the *Periyapuranam* itself was written to wean King Anapaya Cola (Kulotunga 11) away from the reading of the CC (Zvelibil 1975, 173). This is further indication of the power that the CC was seen to have in the Tamil tradition.

Among the Jains of Tamil Nadu today, the CC is considered a *parayana nul*, a book for ceremonial reading, and is recited at festivals and special occasions at Jain temples and public places. 1 It is quite common to find the CC wrapped in a cloth sitting on *puja* altars in Jain homes in Tamil Nadu. The text is not often read, but is very widely honored.

As can be seen from the excerpts above, a distinctive feature of the CC is the apparent salacity of its hero Civakan. The epic is famous for its dense erotic description, double *entendre* and secondary meanings that often seem obscene. This important aspect of the CC has yet to be explained in the context of Digambara Jain tradition. The Digambaras, with their rigorously ascetical views, would seem unlikely candidates for the creation of a text of highly erotic character such as the CC. In this chapter, I will discuss this apparent contradiction and put forth a solution to the question. Before doing so, it is appropriate here to discuss the contents of the story, its authorship, and other background details.

The *Civakacintamani*, (Civakan, the Wish-Fulfilling Jewel), by Tiruttakkatevar is written in *viruttam* meter, is 3,145 verses long, and is divided into thirteen chapters called "*ilampakams*." Each of the *ilampakams* involve a marriage either figurative or actual and therefore the CC is often referred to as a *mananul*, a book about marriages.

The narrative of the story has Civakan's father, Caccantan, a king, killed by an evil minister. Civakan's mother, Vicayai, advanced in pregnancy, escapes, flying on a peacock-shaped flying machine. She lands in a cremation ground where her son is born. She is told by a spirit of the place to leave her newborn son to be taken away by a merchant who will come there. Civakan grows up in the merchant's house and becomes the epitome of a hero. In the course of wanderings and adventures, he marries a series of women and has an ongoing affair with a dancing girl. He eventually returns to battle the evil minister for his father's throne. Once he has attained it, he marries his eighth and final wife. His eight sons are still children when he becomes weary of the life of the senses and goes for an audience with Mahavira at the moment of his *samavasarana* and eventually becomes a released *siddha*.

The legend of Tiruttakkatevar, a story whose origin is not traceable, appears to try to explain the contradiction or apparent contradiction of a Jain *muni* writing a story that dwells to a great extent upon descriptions of love. That legend states that the *Cankam* savants of Madurai, noting that no Jain had ever written about the "sentiments of love" before, challenged Tiruttakkatevar to write about love particularly. With the permission of his guru, Tevar, a renouncer in childhood, composed such a work in the form of an epic. Once Tevar had done so and

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had presented it to them, some skeptics spoke up in the assembly of learned men in Madurai, saying that they did not believe that Tevar could have written with such graphic accuracy without having himself experienced the "lesser pleasures." Upon hearing this, Tiruttakkatevar put a red hot iron to his tongue with the declaration that, if he were not a child renouncer, his tongue should be burned. It was not burned and his purity was affirmed. 2

The fourteenth-century commentator, Naccinarkkiniyar was not a Jain, but a Saiva Brahman of the Bharadvaja *gotra*.<sup>3</sup> He was not extensive in his commentary and does not venture to explain, if he could have, the often graphic sexual descriptions in the *Civakacintamani*, as they might relate to the expression of Jain principles. Modern day commentators have not fared better. R Vijayalakshmy is rather typical of the writers upon the CC in simply passing over the fact that the work deals with sexual themes from beginning to end. Her closest statement of explanation is that his ornate descriptions are a, "sugar coating to his religious pill" (1981, 48). S. Vaiyapuri Pillai (1962, 183-87), one of the most respected Tamil scholars of the modern Tamil renaissance, had a highly negative evaluation of the eroticism of CC and provided no elucidation of how it might express Jain principles. T. E. Gnanamurthy (1966), another widely known scholar on the CC, interpreted the story along Vedantic and not Jain lines.

In support of the conception that the sexuality of the CC has a positive value is Vijayalakshmy's (1981, 48) argument that the Digambaras, clearly influenced by Hinduism in medieval times to admit Hindu-derived ceremonies into their religion, may have likewise been influenced to portray the household life more favorably and show that salvation might be gained via that institution. Vijayalakshmy implies that the Jains somehow changed their attitude toward the laity in the fifth through thirteenth centuries and that they began recognizing a "distinction" between the householder and the ascetic. The first text relating to householders, however, was written by Kundakunda in the second century C.E. (Jaini 1979, 160). In addition, it is evident that the vows of the Jain layman, even after the creation of the lay texts, were still considered simply weaker versions of the "real" vows, though this was not a point that was overly stressed (ibid.) There is no evidence to support the notion, therefore, that the Jains altered their attitudes in regard to the path of the layman during the later part of the first millenium C.E. The evidence from the story of Tiruttakkatevar, who took the vow of renunciation in his youth, and other evidences in the CC itself<sup>4</sup> indicate that the Digambara view of the householder's life as something that can be dispensed with and as not conducive to salvation was not compromised.

I argue that, contrary to the views of most commentators on the CC, but in accord with the legend of Tevar, his Jain masterpiece dealing with erotic love was not written in its praise. Tevar, in a brilliant literary tour de force, presented his challengers among the *Cankam* savants a story that both answered their requirement and remained true to Digambara Jainism. The discussion below of the carefully wrought imagery of the CC will show that, though Tevar was forced to touch

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his poetic tongue to the searing fires of sexuality, he did indeed remain pure and true to his creed.

In verse 11 of the CC, which is in the midst of the *patikam*, the Introduction, a series of verses that summarize the story to be told, there is a phrase in the last line which seems to indicate something about the nature of the story. The translation of the verse according to the interpretation of U. V. Swaminathaiyar is:

[I will tell] how, barely a moment after  
 he had finished crossing a great ocean of youthful  
 learning with his heart as a raft, Civakan,  
 whose benevolence is unlimited, freed  
 the herds from the treacherous hill tribes;

how the daughter of the Vidyadhara king  
lost to him in the Vina; how they enjoyed  
heart melting love in abundance like the Nagas. 5

The last line of the verse reads: *nañcurra kma nani nakarin tuytta varum*. Swaminathaiyar takes the first word *nañcu* to mean *naintu* the literary form for the converb of the verb *nai*, to crush, be bruised, be injured, spoiled, waste away, perish, droop, languish, be distressed, feel pity, lose command of oneself.<sup>6</sup> He takes *nañcurra* to mean *manam urukiya*, "heart melting."<sup>7</sup> Naccinarkkiniyar glosses *urra* as *otta*, "appropriate," and by giving the verb *irutal* before it seems to indicate that *nañcu* should be taken as a converb.<sup>8</sup> The Saiva Siddhanta commentators on CC accordingly take *nañcurra* as *ulam naintu iruttalai otta*, "befitting the heart wasting away."<sup>9</sup>

*Nañcu* is in actuality the spoken form of *naintu*. It is somewhat unusual to see a purely spoken form in high literature of this sort, but the subtle change of a word to accommodate the beginning rhyme or the meter, though not frequent in verse with beginning rhyme in Tamil, is by no means entirely prohibited. It is notable in this case, however, that in the CC there is not in all of its 3,145 verses another example of a converb of this sort changing its form from a dental nt to a palatal ñc. Tiruttakkatevar is extraordinarily faithful in regard to not altering words to accommodate beginning rhyme and there are only five or six cases (some with the same word) which could be suspected to be conscious alterations. Among these there is none that exhibits the kind of alteration seen in this verse. <sup>10</sup> Specifically in the case of nasal clusters like that in this phrase, Tevar often accepts different nasals, for example, n, n, n, n, ñ, m as being by nature rhyming. <sup>11</sup> There is therefore no compelling reason for him to alter *naintu* to *nañcu*. The metrics of the two are the same.

The issue is important because the phrase, *nañcurra kama*, read without commentary would mean, "poisonous lust," since the word *nañcu* means "poison." The last line would then read, "How he enjoyed poisonous lust in abundance like the Snake People." It may very well be that the words must be interpreted as

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Swaminathaiyar does, though his interpretation seems to screen out the potential negative senses of *nai*, which indicate loss of control, injury, and destruction. The secondary meaning inherent in the line, however, remains and particularly in the context of reference to Snake People, the word "poison" seems appropriate poetically.

Kamil Zvelebil has pointed out (1973, 214-15) that words with the palatal ñc have associations in Tamil with things that are "bizarre, uncouth, dangerous, deadly." In this verse, the first words of the four lines going down read: *neñcam*, *vañcam*, *viñcai*, *nañcu*. Their translations are: heart, deceit, magic, poison. The verse and its ominous overtones remind of a verse in another Jain poem, the *Cilappatikaram*. The last verse of the second canto refers to the newly married Kannaki and Kovalan this way: <sup>12</sup>

Like two snakes in pleasure closely  
embracing, like the God of Love and his wife  
united with one another, inseparable, they reveled  
in endless, beautiful delight, continuously, as if they  
knew that, on this earth, nothing lasts.

In this verse, the tragedy to come is hinted at. It is no coincidence that Kovalan and Kannaki are depicted as being like snakes, in echo of the Jain perception of the dangers of the five-headed snake called the "senses." The tragedy of the *Cilappatikaram* has its seeds in the sexual, for the end of Kovalan and Madurai begins with his dalliances with the courtesan Matavi. In the CC, the image of the Nagas engaged in poisonous lust is only one of the many images that remind the reader of the poisonous nature of sexuality and make clear that, while at one level Tiruttakkatevar appears to be reveling in descriptions of sexual love, on another level he is systematically undermining these descriptions with the imagery of snakes and poison or with dramatic excess.

A common and striking metaphor in the CC describes women as having "mounds of venus that expand like a cobra's hood." This comparison is found only nine times in all of classical Tamil literature and of those four are in the *Cilappatikaram* and two in the *Manimekalai*, heterodox works in which sexual impropriety and renunciation are thematic.<sup>13</sup> In the CC, there are twenty-three occurrences of the trope in various forms.<sup>14</sup> While in the *akam* literature the image is specifically used to evoke the sensuous arousal of the female beloved, in the CC it is used almost casually to refer to any woman and often (but not exclusively) in nonsexual situations. Such is found when Civakan's *Guru*,



Accananti, is leaving to renounce the world. Before he does so he goes to tell Civakan's mother and father and Tevar says (CC 407):

. . . he explained himself as befitted his heart to her of  
red-gold [covered] mound of venus which expands like a

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cobra's hood and to him whose chest resembled a cloudy  
mountain who lives in an ocean of wealth.

Here the reference is entirely gratuitous and meant, it seems, to remind one that every woman, even a chaste mother is possessed of the cobra of sexuality. In the *Kanakamalaiyar Ilampakam* (The chapter regarding the marriage to Kanakamalai) likewise Civakan and his brother are eating food which is being served by Civakan's wife Kanakamalai (CC 1731):

His younger brother's chest painted with red  
saffron was like the mountain over which the sun  
sets. As the new ornaments there that included  
the pure radiance of a multitude of diamonds  
from the beautiful Himalaya reflected upon his own  
huge mountain-like chest, he ate food with him. She  
whose mound of venus is the hood of a cobra  
presented them a feast according to propriety.

Similarly when the barber is cutting Civakan's hair in a ceremony done for his marriage to Ilakkanaiyar and unidentified servant woman is described (CC 2493):

Her string of pearls, ornaments and necklaces hung down,  
giving off light. Earrings, gleaming, dangled nicely from  
her ears and swung with gold. A woman with a mound of venus  
which was an open hooded cobra poured water from a ewer . . .

On occasion a woman is referred to by synecdoche using this image. After Civakan had defeated Kantaruvatattai and won her hand in marriage, she put a garland upon him to symbolize his victory (CC 738):

The Mound of Venus Which Resembled A Cobras's  
Hood fastened upon his chest the red-gold garland  
resplendent with beauty and it seemed like  
a cloud-born lightning bolt had fallen upon  
a jewelled mountain. Bowing and touching  
the man's feet in obeisance, she stood.  
It was as if the Goddess in the lotus, Laksmi, who  
shows the path of pleasure had joined with him. 15

Other imagery which at first glance seems innocent takes on a more ominous overtone when viewed in the background of this image of the woman as cobra. For instance when Civakan saved Kunamalai from an elephant the incident is described this way (CC 980):

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When, like Garuda, angrily pouncing  
upon a cobra with an expanded hood,  
the rutting elephant bent down  
toward the woman, Civakan,  
like a killing lion pouncing upon

the summit of a mountain, kicked it  
so its furious anger was incited and  
it let out a resounding roar like thunder.

As Ilakkanai is adorned to be married, she is described by mentioning a snake (CC 2445):

The ring-shaped thigh ornaments loosely  
clasped her thighs. The kinkinis and anklets  
closely embracing her ankles made  
noise. Putting adornments on the small  
feet she walked upon and upon her  
lovely fingers, Vilaci put in place  
the end of Ilakkanai's sari that was  
like the small tongue of a snake. Malai arrived.

In the ca. ninth century Sanskrit *Atmanusasana* of Gunabhadra, the Digambara view of women is set forth in two memorable verses (126-27). They perfectly accord with the imagery that Tiruttakkatevar uses:

It is wrongly said that cobras poison by their looks, but it is clearly evident that by half a glance of a woman the world is burnt up completely. When you have turned away from them, they roam about you in anger. The only poison is the woman. Do not go near them.

Cobras deprive of life only occasionally when they bite in rage and there are remedies which quickly remove their poison. Women-cobras whether in rage or in smiles, kill even master ascetics, now and later, again and again, whether they bite or are looked at and there is no remedy for their poison.

It is significant that in the *Mutti Ilampakam* (The chapter of Liberation) the last image of a woman's genitals being compared to a cobra is found in verse 2665 not long before Civakan comes to the decision to renounce the world. After he has made that decision, his wives and mother are no longer described this way, as if to indicate that he had transcended the danger and could no longer be threatened by it. The last five hundred verses of the CC contain no such reference.

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When Tiruttakkatevar does not link sexual love to snakes and poison, he condemns it by excess. The venus's mound is mentioned in the CC eighty-three 16 times in addition to the twenty-three times it is referred to as resembling a cobra's hood, yielding a total of 106 references to women's intimate parts. In all of classical literature, the word *alkul* was used in this sense only 126 times (Fillozat 1967, 70). Tevar seems to be reaching not for erotic effect, but to overwhelm the reader (or listener). Vaiyapuri Pillai's negative assessment of the eroticism of the CC is a clear reaction to these excesses. It was not, however, accidental that Tevar's imagery should engender such a reaction. His work was intended, by constant and unrelenting evocation of the intimacies of love in embarrassing detail and by repeated linking of sexuality to poison and danger, to create the sentiment of disgust and loathing for sexuality. He quite successfully one-upped his mythical challengers in the court of the Pandyan king.

Tevar used other imagery with regularity to indicate the dangers of sexuality. A recurrent image found in the CC is the image of a woman's eyes being like weapons or simply dangerous. Once again these images can be found in the classical Tamil literature, but they are much less frequent. The most frequently used image for women's eyes in the CC is that of "spear-eyes," *verkan*. This image occurs no less than eighty-eight times in the CC.<sup>17</sup> It is remarkably rare in classical Tamil.<sup>18</sup> In addition to the frequency of the deadly image, Tevar makes clear in a number of places that his image of women's eyes is not simply conventional, and he extends the metaphor to reveal the full and deadly nature of woman. Examples are:

[she had] . . . long reddened eyes which seemed warrings spears taken from the wounds they had plunged into . . . (CC 26)

. . . she whose long eyes were spears with sharp tips full of flesh . . . (CC 344)

. . . eyes which were blood-stained spears . . . (CC 733)

Her . . . eyes assumed the character of spears that had on them flesh torn off from being flung upon chests . . . (CC 933)

. . . eyes like arrogant, flesh eating, reddened, long spears of fired tip that kill the lives of kings . . . (CC 2944)

The eyes are also frequently likened to swords.<sup>19</sup> There are thirty-five verses in the CC which compare women's eyes to swords. This is in contrast to approximately ten such images in the classical literature (Fillozat 1967, 1398). These images are usually not made as elaborate as those which involve spears. A few extend the image somewhat, such as, ". . . she of eyes that were swords which gave off smoke and fire at their tips . . ." (CC 474).

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A significant number of verses compare the eyes to arrows and occasionally the brow is then compared to a bow. There are nineteen verses in CC which compare arrows to the eyes of women. <sup>20</sup> In the classical Tamil corpus, I have only found two verses which do so, *Kuruntokai* 2722, and *Akananuru* 67: 5-6. Several other verses in the CC describe the eyes as deadly, burning or weapon-like.

Another example of the use of erotic imagery in the CC, which in essence undermines itself, is in the descriptions of women's breasts. Tevar's favorite adjective for describing women's breasts in the CC is *vem* (occasionally *veyya*) which means "desirable," but also means "hot." An important third meaning of *vem* is "fierce" or "cruel." The CC describes breasts as *vem* fifty-three times and nipples as *vem* three times.<sup>21</sup> Imagery, which supports the idea that women's breasts are cruel, is in evidence. In one verse, breasts are described as, "tormenting men, burning, their nipples blackened are the pair of jewelled, desirable/hot breasts" (CC 1486). In another verse (CC 2634), the nipples are likened to the eyes of the God of Death.

The number of such references and the context once again are evidence that Tevar had a second objective in the mind at all times when he described love. Breasts at the same time were desirable and hot; the very heat of the sexual concourse was such as to remind not of the cool heavens but of the fire of the Jain hells, where bad karma comes due. Their negative value was reinforced by the hidden suggestion that they were "cruel," and there could be no doubt of their spiritual deadliness. In contrast to the CC, the phrase "*vem mulai*" is only found six times in classical Tamil literature (Fillozat 1967, 1457). The classical poetry saw love as a positive value and used the intense images that Tevar used over and over quite sparingly. The classical love poetry was composed to give measured praise to the moods and sentiments of love; Tevar's poem was calculated to condemn by excessive praise or whatever device of double sense could be brought to bear.

Some verses in the CC make quite clear the fierce, dangerous heat that is generated by lust, particularly in women. In a verse that almost seems like a parody of the *kavya* tradition of describing the hero going through the streets while women pine for him (see *Raghuvamsa*, 7: 5-12; also *Buddhacarita*, 3: 13-23), women see Civakan as he goes through the streets after recovering the kings cattle. They are shown with their girdles literally falling down to their ankles in sexual excitement and their lips throwing off fire (CC 468):

The moment they saw the Munificent One,  
grand with his heroic waistcloth, girdles  
which had encircled silk garments  
were around their cotton soft feet.  
They stood throwing off the hot fire  
of lust so the beautiful fineness of their  
red mouths was singed like burnt red lac.  
They stood with the bangles on their arms slipping off.

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Civakan, by confronting directly the poisonous and virulent dangers of lust again and again, seems to undergo a spiritually purificatory trial by fire. With all the verses which describe women with eyes that are spears, there is only one verse in the CC that describes a man's eyes like spears. This is found in the description of Civakan at the moment that he is going to

give up the world. He has passed his kingdom over to his sons, has announced his decision to his grieving wives and he is about to explain his reasons (CC 2982):

He of extremely long, wide, reddened eyes that seemed as if two fine, sharp, spears with leaf-shaped tips that had lain in the swelling fire of a blacksmith's forge had been put into a moon, the king, to those grieving and weeping, spoke.

Here it appears that the spears that once adorned the eyes of the women whom he had loved have now been transplanted into his own eyes, indicating that that which once had conquered him now is in his own control. The description of the spears as having lain in the swelling fire of the blacksmith's forge is indicative of Civakan's association with and transcendence of the fires of lust which he has conquered. The comparison of the face to the moon, which is traditionally seen as cool, is indicative of the purity, clarity, and dispassion with which the sage to be approaches his new state of consciousness. It is significant that this verse begins with the word *kol* which also means, "to kill" and the first words, *kol ulai* can be translated as "murderous agitation." So a secondary meaning emerges that sees his eyes, after his having experienced and conquered the "murderous agitation" of the senses, now sitting in an orb of dispassion. The purifactory activity that he has undergone is made clear by the image of a spear having been hardened and steeled in the fierce heat of the forge of yoga.

In the next verses he expresses his decision to renounce. In CC 2985 he says:

Will a fearless, sharp clawed lion(,) who is looking for an elephant of killing fury(,) stay under an eave waiting for a house rat? Would someone bathe in the poison of good deeds past rather than swim the flood of the many Karmas and drink indivisible bliss?

Here he makes clear his understanding of the fact that he has bathed in poison in his relationships with the the women of his harem. At the same time, he makes clear that this was not his choice, but came to him as a result of karma. As the commentators in the Saiva Siddhanta edition of the CC note, the elephant is liberation, the house rat is earthly pleasure and it is obvious that Civakan, the lion, has already encountered and overcome earthly pleasure, and cannot countenance any more of it. He wants now to meet the elephant of liberation in the last battle to defeat his karmas.

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In the following verse a description is made in terms which describe his yogic purification (CC 2987):

Because he with a garland covered  
with buzzing bees had, through disgust,  
skimmed and cleared the turbid  
waters of the mind that had flowed  
in the mud of love, the long-eyed  
women, hearts clear, said, "We will  
do great Tapas," out of the bond  
of love for their husband.

Here, in describing his clarity of consciousness, the process that he had gone through is indicated. Once the mud of lust had cleared from his consciousness, the clear waters of his soul were prepared for renunciation. It is worthy of note that the women's eyes here are not described with the deadly imagery that so often describes them.

Jain philosophers, when speaking of the spiritual on the one hand and the practical and worldly on the other, use the terms *niscaya* and *vyavaharika* (Singh 1974, 54-56). These are essentially two viewpoints from which different phenomena of existence can be seen in the Jain philosophy. In the CC, the double meanings that run through the length of the text are in essence a reflection of this duality. In verse II, the word *nañcu* from the *vyavaharika* view simply refers to the heart-melting love that every human wants to enjoy. From the *niscaya* or "ultimate" point of view, however, this love is a poison for the soul which must in the end be eschewed.

It is a common feature of Jain story literature for a king, especially, to be depicted as having many wives. The *Paumacariyam*, a Jain Ramayana, the *Vasudevahindi*, the Jain Tamil *Perunkatai* of Konkuvelir (a Jain version of the *Brhatkatha*), and the *Yasastilaka* of Somadeva all depict heroes who have numerous wives (sometimes as many as 17,000). Since most Jain literature has a didactic aim, it is not surprising to find stories of people who have many wives or

indulge themselves in sexuality, as ultimately they will always renounce the world or else suffer the karmic consequences of sensual excess.

The question of why Tiruttakkatevar chose to write his story in the highly erotic fashion which he did, in a fashion that distinguishes it from the other versions of the Jivandhara story, 22 from Jain literature in general and from later Tamil epic, is a difficult one. The myth of the Cankam savants' challenge can hardly be accepted as historical and seems, if anything, a post hoc defense for why Tevar ventured to write the story in such an apparently salacious fashion. Clearly both the *Cilappatikaram* and the *Perunkatai* dealt with romance and love. These two epics, however, do not approach the CC in its nearly ever present depiction of scenes of love and lust.

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Tiruttakkatevar's verses 31-72, beginning after his brief introduction, use the imagery of the *Akam* five landscapes to show the fertility and beauty of the country. *Akam* poetry, in Tamil, is a traditional mode of poetry of love which weaves sentiment and natural setting together. Tevar's introduction of the story with sensuously delightful description of the various tracts of the land was in unity with the themes of love which he would present in the story. The importance of this invocation of traditional Tamil poetic imagery at the beginning of his Jain story cannot be overestimated. The *bhakti* saints made their impact identifying closely with particular sites of the deity and singing songs which spoke of each of these places. The Jains were, here, not so parochial. The *Cilappatikaram* had for the first time offered a poetic glimpse of a political unity in the Tamil land. Tevar ventured to invoke its poetic unity for the cause of his story. The fact that the river Carai, which fed the country of Emankatam, is the vehicle for Tevar's introductory description on the model of *Paripatal* 6-22 describing the Vaiyai river, indicates quite clearly his consciousness of the paramountcy of the riverine region in this new historical era.

Tevar does indeed describe the country of Emankatam using the five *Akam* landscapes, but running down their center is the river which had become the economic backbone and lifeline for the peasant classes who now, in fact, dominated the landscapes. Though the CC depicts premarital love, it is known as the marriage text" (*mananul*) because the hero marries many times. His premarital affairs essentially are infidelities to his first wife Kantaruvatattai. As such, the prevailing sexual sentiment of the CC is of the Marutam region, that is, the prevailing sexual sentiment of the riverine tract (Ramanujan 1967, 106).

Tevar used the *Akam* tradition for his Jain ends just as the *bhakti* saints had used it for theirs. For *bhakti*, the love tradition of ancient Tamil poetry became the paradigm for the devotee's relationship to the deity. Whatever moods a lover might suffer for her/his beloved, the *bhakta* would suffer for god. This was more so perhaps in the Vaisnava tradition, but the ca. tenth century *Tirukovaiyar* of Manikkavacakar established this paradigm in the Saiva tradition as well.

Whereas it can be said that *bhakti* assumed and modified the *Akam* tradition and absorbed, in essence, the complex of emotions which it signified, Tevar's task was different and more difficult. Though some scholars have insisted that Tevar was in fact simply acquiescing to the predominant sentiment of the time in favor of the household life, this was not the case. See for instance verse 2985 above, where household life is likened to a house rat before a bold man who wishes spiritual advance.

It was Tevar's role and the role of the Jain tradition to present a decisive rejection of the love tradition, rejecting, in fact, a spiritually positive view of married sexuality. The case could be made that in the *Cilappatikaram*, too, this was precisely what was done. Kovalan's dalliances with the courtesan Matavi were the direct cause of his destruction and the destruction of Madurai, while in the ancient Tamil tradition of love poetry, such liaisons were most often described with relish rather than dread. Elsewhere, I have suggested the psychological and emo-

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tional continuity between warrior traditions and asceticism (Ryan 1985). In Tamil terms it would be far more likely to see the Jains associate themselves with the *Puram* tradition (the tradition of war poetry) in Tamil Nadu than the *Akam* tradition. Tiruttakkatevar took the Tamil love tradition and used it against itself and the deadly imagery that was connected with sexuality in CC, as was discussed above, is an indication of this.



Because of their literary tradition of love, the Tamils were not averse to suggestive verses of intimate love. Tevar quite skillfully managed to extend, stretch, and then explode the subtle love imagery of *Akam* poetry until it yielded not sensuality, but a lascivious and frightening sexuality which could not but offend the sensibilities of those of his time as well as those today. If the *Cankam* poets did indeed accept this poem as a Jain work on the sentiments of love, they were fully aware of his depredations upon the delicacy of the *Akam* genre and had accepted his work as the brilliant Jain answer to the love tradition which it is.

Because of the skill with which Tevar wrote, his overextension of the *Akam* tradition is well-planned. As with images such as spear-eyes and cobra-venus's mounds, it is not necessarily glaring in a verse or two, but has a cumulative effect over the course of 3,000 verses where such imagery is continually called upon. Below is an example of one of Tevar's poems that uses imagery from *Akam* poems for a Jain purpose (CC 1493):

The garland of the young man was crushed  
and destroyed as the firm breasts of the New  
Bangle with long, garlanded hair bumped  
and bathed in the mud of sandal paste,  
and the beautiful, belled anklets opened  
their mouths and made noise with  
the girdle on her mound of venus. 23

The image of a man's garland being crushed by the breasts of a woman is a common one in *Akam* poetry.<sup>24</sup> *Kalittokai*, in fact, has a line (68-14), *mukai vaytta mulai paya kulainta nin tar*, which substantially matches the description of the garland being crushed by the bumping of her breasts. There are features of this verse of the CC which take it beyond the naturally sensual imagery of the *Akam* poems, however. First, the graphic description of her anklets and girdle jingling during intercourse do not accord with the suggestion usually found in the *Akam* poetry. The *Akam* poetry operated in a complex of evocation (Ramanujan 1967, 109). Using *ul-lurai*, the "inscape," the subtle reference to nature was used to say, indirectly (indirectly), the things that are said overtly and boldly in a verse like this. A typical *Akam* poem is *Ainkurunuru* 203, translated here by George Hart (1979, 28):

Listen, friend,  
sweeter than milk mixed with honey from our garden

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is the muddy water  
that animals drink and leave  
in the leaf-covered holes in his land.

Here the leaf-covered hole suggests (but does not speak directly of) the woman's own genitals which in South India were often dressed simply in leaves. The muddy water is the turbid fluid of completed love. It is not that only, however, but it is also his milk mixed with her own "honey." One can hardly imagine a more highly charged description of sexual love and passion, but because the essential matter is so skillfully evoked with natural imagery, clothed in a delicate leaf, as it were, one learns about the feeling of love for the man she speaks of. Tevar's verse in comparison cloaks nothing and suggests nothing. It is a representation of a raw pleasure of sex which, leaving aside issues of propriety and social background, does not succeed as well poetically.

But this is not all. Tiruttakkatevar in order to show that the woman had lost her virginity has referred to her by metonymy as the "New Bangle." Many of the verses in the CC which refer to lovemaking resort to metonymy or synecdoche in reference to women. This objectification is purposeful. It is more than a subtle method of distancing sensuality and sensual feeling from the sexual act and making it seem raw, crude and artificial. In addition, it makes the reader aware that were it not for the corruption of his or her own vision by lust, these verses would be meaningless and harmless recountings of the movements of jewelry.

As with many verses of Tevar there is still more to be seen. There is in the first word of the third line a second reading. In point of fact, it should be called the first reading, but the commentators perhaps could not bring themselves to render it so. The word is *maintana* which only very rarely could be taken as a genitive of the word *maintan*, which means "young man." The proper reading of the word should be *maintanam* which means "copulation" and in coming together with the

next word it would be common for the "m" to simply drop. The translation of the first part of the third line then, would require that the secondary meaning of *tar* as "bud" or "flower" be taken to mean, "the flower of copulation became mushy and broke." In the context of her virginity, which is all too obviously communicated by her being called the "New Bangle," the line is clear. Her hymen has been broken and she has lost her virginity.

This verse exemplifies a poetic process which was carried out over and over again in the CC, piling double *entendre* upon suggestion and adding always the flavoring of poison. To summarize, Tiruttakkatevar was challenged by the *Cankam* savants to deal with the issue of love and its emotions. This may be merely metaphor for the necessity for any poet in Tamil, Jain or otherwise, to come to terms with the Tamil tradition of love poetry which valued highly suggestive poetry. To retain his fidelity to the Jain creed and at the same time fulfill the assignment he had taken for himself was no mean task. His solution was to present a work that was so suggestive and rawly graphic that it turned sexuality against itself.

By a constant and empty parroting of the imagery of the love tradition, he created what amounts to a skillfully poisonous parody. Thus, he on one hand could be viewed with awe by the mythical *Cankam* poets themselves who could only applaud his clear evocations of the *Akam* tradition. On the other hand, the Jains could only praise him because he had once again shown the poisonousness of lust in epic fashion. A measure of Tevar's success in this extraordinary tour de force is in the fact that his work was commented upon by a great Brahman commentator, was preserved for posterity despite the condemnation of *Cekkilar*, is considered one of the great classics of the Tamil tradition even today and at the same time is by custom, still publicly recited, among Jains in present day Tamil Nadu. 25

## Notes

1. On a research project funded by the American Institute of Indian Studies in 1988, I was able to confirm that the CC is still recited on special occasions for the Jain community in Tamil Nadu, and I was able to record one of the modern day expounders of the CC, Santhakumar Jain of Mottur village, Aruni.
2. U. V. Swaminathaiyar, ed. *Civakacintamani* by Tiruttakkatevar with the commentary of Naccinarkkiniyar, "The History of the Author of the Book" (*nulaciriyar varalaru*), 2nd ed. (Madras: Presidency Press, 1907), p. 14-16.
3. Swaminathaiyar, CC, "History of Naccinarkkiniyar" (*naccinarkkiniyar varalaru*), pp. 21-22.
4. Turaicami Pillai, *Cintamani Araycci* (Tirunelveli: South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, 1948), p. 132-133, suggests that in the CC, contrary to other Jain texts like the *Nalatiyar*, renunciation only was to take place after children had been born. He has quoted a verse out of context to show this. In the story of Civakan's previous birth, he decides to renounce the earth (CC 2883) and his father objects (CC 2884), insisting that first he produce a son. Civakan (Acotaran) replies that returning to household life now would be like returning to prison (CC 2885). His father then relents and he takes up asceticism without having produced an heir. Clearly the Jain view that one can renounce at any time (after the age of 8) is upheld here and Tiruttakkatevar, the author of *Civakacintamani*, is not attempting to counter the Jain view in the life of Civakan.
5. Swaminathaiyar, p. 8 of the text, and p. 82 of the summary of the story. The text reads:  
*neñcam punaiya kkalaimakatal ninti yanke*  
*vañcam maravar nirai vallal vitutta varum*  
*viñcaikku iraivan makalvinaiyil torravarum*  
*nancurra kama naninakaran tuyatta varum*
6. Swaminathaiyar, "Special Notes" (*vicetakurippu*), p. 82.
7. Ibid., p. 82.

8. Swaminathaiyar, *Namakal Ilampakam*, p. 8.

9. Tiruttakkatevar. *Civakacintamani* (Madras: Saiva Siddhanta, 1967), p. 10.

10. The words below are those in the CC which begin lines and could be suspected of being alterations by Tevar to accommodate beginning rhyme: *cunam* for *cunnam* (CC 91), *araican* for *aracan* (CC 600), *kappuram* (CC 197) for *karpuram*, *talankural* (CC 378) is apparently a poetic conflation of *talanku kural*, *kappam* for *kalpam* (CC 535), *kamman* for *karumam* (CC 991) *cam* for *cakum* (CC 1568) and *cuntaram* for *cinturam* (CC 1956, 2400, and 3048).

11. For examples see CC: 172, 533,666, 678, 734, 840, 1112, 2253, 2307, 2309 (here three different *ns* are allowed to carry the rhyme), 2676.

12. *Cilappatikaram* of Iankovatikal (Madras: Saiva Siddhanta, 1969), p. 53. Commentary by P. V. Comacuntaranar.

*tuma ppanikal onru toyntal ene oruvar*  
*kamar manaivi yena kkai kalantu namam*  
*tolaiyata inpam elam tunnninar man mel*  
*nilayamai kantavar pol ninru*

11. For measurement of incidences of imagery in "classical Tamil," I use Fillozat, *Index des Mots*, 1967. This index includes texts such as the *Nalatiyar*, which seem clearly later than what is usually thought of as "*Cankam* poetry," but this does not vitiate my arguments. A figure of about 30,000 lines would be roughly the total of lines of poetry in *Cankam* literature which would include the *Manimekalai* and the *Cilappatikaram*. In contrast the CC comprises some 12,000 lines. The image is found in *Narrinai* 366:3, *Cilappatikaram* 12:5 (2:3) (twice) and 24:2:22 (3:4) (twice), *Manimekalai* 19:11 , and 28:22, *Cirupanarruppatai* 158, *Kuruntokai* 294:5.

14. The image varies in the Tamil: *man nakav inai patamumu . . . alkul* (173); . *aravin paiyum atum alkul* (352), *pai viri alkul* (385). . . . See Ryan 1985: 1910, note 71 for a list of the verses in CC where this image appears.

15. Here the word "joined" (*punar*) refers literally to intercourse. The linking of this word with Laksmi seems at once curious and revealing. The rhyme scheme neatly rhymes cobra (*nakam*) with pleasure (*pokam*). Here the second meaning of *pokam*, "sexual pleasure," can hardly be avoided, but then we have the unusual circumstance of Laksmi, the goddess of fortune and beauty being depicted as a woman of some sexual experience. I argue that Tevar was intentionally trying to embarrass, disgust, and outrage his audience by overwhelming them with double *entendre* and salacious innuendo. One cannot escape the impression that the secondary sense of this verse intends to do just that.

16. See Ryan 1985, 191c, note 73 for a list of the verses in the CC that have the word *alkul*, "mound of venus," without reference to the cobra.

17. See Ibid., 1985: 1910, note 74 for a list of the verses in the CC, which contain a comparison of a woman's eyes to spears.

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18. A fragment of the *Paripatal*, *Paripatal* Fragment 13:3 has the trope *vel nuti anna kannar*, "women with eyes like the tips of spears." *Cilappatikaram* in three places has *vel netunkan*, "long, spear eyes." The *Nalatiyar* has the same image twice. *Cirupanarruppatai* has one occurrence of *vel nokku*, "spear gaze." The *Cilappatikaram* has one occurrence of *verkan*, "spear eyes." The *Nalatiyar* has one occurrence of *verkannal*, "she with spear eyes." *Nalatiyar*, *Tiru Moli Aimpatu*, and *Palamoli Nanuru* have one occurrence each of *verkannay*, "you of spear eyes." *Tiru Moli Aimpatu* has two and the *Cilappatikaram* one of *verkannal*, "she with spear eyes." *Elati* has one occurrence of *verkanninay*, "you possessed of spear eyes." *Paripatal* has *vlelilunkan*, "beautiful kohl eating spear eyes." See also *Akananuru* 27 (15:17), *Kalittokai* 147:6, *Nalatiyar* 44, *Cilappatikaram* 7:22, *Manimekalai* 18:75, 22:15. This yields a total of twenty-three occurrences of the image in classical Tamil. Again eight of these occurrences are in the Jain *Cilappatikaram* and *Nalatiyar* where there would be expected to be similarity of view to the CC. For occurrences, see Fillozat 1967: 1478-82.

19. See Ryan 1985: 191d, footnote 75 for a list of the verses in the CC, that compare women's eyes to swords.

20. Ibid., note 77 for a list of verses in the CC, which compare a woman's eyes to arrows.

21. Ibid., note 78 for a list of the verses which, use the adjective (*vem*) to describe breasts in the CC.

22. This includes the Sanskrit versions of the story. There is no cobra, spear, sword imagery and so forth in the Sanskrit versions of *Ksatracudamani*, *Gadyacintamani* or the later (twelfth century) *Jivandhara Campu*. None of these versions emphasizes the sexual with the intensity of Tevar either. I have not been able to survey the Kannada versions of the story, but the impression from reading the literature is that the CC is the only version of the *Jivandhara* story with this emphasis.

23. *cantana ccerritai ttama varkulal*  
*paintoti patamulai kulippu ppaytalin*  
*maintana tarkulaintutaiya vaytirantu*  
*anicilampu ani yalkul kalaiyotu arttave*

24. Tamil *tar kulaintal*. It occurs four times in the Akananuru alone: 6:10, 75:14, 144:9 and 206:10.

25. The fact that the CC was celebrated by Jains in the late nineteenth century as a *parayana nul* or a book for ceremonial reading was indicated in an article by U.-V. Swaminathaiyar (1952), who was relating his early contact with Jains in Tamil Nadu in his work on the *Civakacintamani*, the first major Tamil work that he edited and published in 1887.

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## Chapter Six

### Who is a King? Jain Narratives of Kingship in Medieval Western India

*John E. Cort*

The contemporary Jain community in western India by and large is rather apolitical. 1 Few Jains are directly involved in electoral politics, and a recent Jain convention had to encourage Jains to enter political affairs to protect and further Jain social and ethical interests. 2 Many lay Jains criticize mendicants who establish public relationships with politicians. This continues a tendency, which has existed for seven hundred years, in which Jains have viewed most rulers as alien and potentially hostile. As bankers and financiers, the Jains had significant impact on Muslim rulers, 3 but they rarely were able to enter into a political discourse which was framed in Islamic categories. As a result, the religious and social life of the Jains has been conducted largely within the overlapping confines of the Jain community and the merchant caste social strata, with few attempts to shape directly the larger Indian polity. Scholars tend to assume that the Jain community, therefore, has always been intentionally apolitical on ideological and theological grounds.

Is this portrait in fact accurate? Have the Jains always remained apart from the realm of politics in India? Clearly this has not been the case, for there is ample evidence from both textual and inscriptional sources to indicate that the Jains were centrally involved in the political life of pre-Islamic medieval western India. But does this evidence indicate a Jain theory of politics, or merely that Jains participated in a state defined according to Brahmanical political theory?

In this chapter, I argue that the Jain participation extended beyond just practical involvement in everyday political affairs, and that the Jains also engaged in a

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broader discourse on the nature of kingship and in medieval India, discourse on kingship was political discourse. In their many historical narratives, Jain authors portrayed their vision of the proper relationship between kings and the Jain community, and thereby advanced a distinct Jain theory of kingship. By portraying ways in which kings should act towards the Jain community, the Jain authors were active participants in the shaping of what Lynn Hunt (1984, 10), in the context of the French Revolution, has termed "political culture," that is, the "values, expectations, and implicit rules that expressed and shaped collective intentions and actions."

My discussion focuses on medieval Jain narratives about four kings: the Cavaḍa king Vanaraja, and the Caulukya kings Mularaja, Jayasimha Siddharaja, and Kumarapala. 4 I will present them not in chronological order, but rather as points on



a logical continuum in terms of the perspectives the narratives present on kingship. These range from a largely Brahmanical form of kingship to one that can properly be described as Jain. The Jain authors present Mularaja as fully involved in Vedic and Brahmanical notions of kingship, while at the same time extensively supporting the Jains as a matter of royal policy. The story of Jayasimha Siddharaja presents a variation on this theme, as Jayasimha is portrayed as a Saiva king who also supported the Jains. He went further than Mularaja in his support, for he also venerated Jain mendicants, but still as a matter of pan-Indian royal policy rather than adherence to Jain conceptions of kingship. In addition, the Jain authors show him treating all the different religious communities impartially, a policy that was obviously favorable to a minority community. Vanaraja Cavada is the earliest and the least well-documented of the four kings. While the Jain authors do not portray him as a Jain in terms of personal religious practice, he is shown participating in distinctly Jain rituals of kingship. Nonetheless, Vanaraja still fits within the framework of a non-Jain king with strong ties to the Jain community. Jayasimha's successor Kumarapala is the one king among the four who is presented as a Jain, and so provides the authors with the opportunity to describe the application of a Jain ideology of kingship to the rule of a kingdom. While there is a continuum here from Brahmanical to Jain variants of a larger pan-Indian theory of kingship, the narratives of Kumarapala indicate that Jain theories of kingship also represent a different and distinctive theory of kingship.

My concern in this chapter is not with facticity, with what any individual king may or may not have done, said, or believed; rather, my concern is with the ways in which medieval Jain authors used historical narratives to advance a specific moral ideology of kingship. Hayden White (1987, 10) has argued that historical narrative as a genre is concerned not so much with the telling of events, but more with the need to rank events in terms of their significance to the group writing its own history. Accordingly, we would expect a Jain narrative to differ from a Brahmanical one. Narrative itself "is intimately related to, if not a function of, the impulse to moralize reality" (p. 14). In the Indian case, this morality is *dharma*, a concept about which, despite areas of overlap, Jains and Brahmanas disagreed strenuously.<sup>5</sup> Writing in the early fourteenth century, Merutunga gives evidence

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of his awareness of the normative nature of narrative when he says in the introduction to his *Prabandhacintamani*, "Since narratives are spoken by the wise according to their own understanding, there must be differences." <sup>6</sup> Merutunga is also aware that his narrative does not stand in isolation, but rather in a context of alternative narratives, when he writes that his narrative is "a new book, pleasing as the Mahabharata" (p. 2).

The portrait of medieval western India that emerges from a careful study of Jain narratives is not one of an agonistic society riven by incessant communal strife. Jains and Brahmanas disagreed over the precise definition of a king and his relationship to the people, while at the same time they agreed on the broader structures of a kingly political culture.<sup>7</sup> Competition between Jains and Brahmanas, between Jains and Saivas,<sup>8</sup> is a frequent motif of all medieval western Indian narratives, but the two communities for the most part coexisted and coprospered. Saiva kings patronized Jain mendicants, and Jain officials patronized Brahmana poets. As long as these ideologies did not so radically contradict each other as to force rulers and others into either/or choices and call for radically different practices, they could coexist.<sup>9</sup>

## Mularaja: A Brahmanical Saiva King

In the mid-tenth century C.E., Mularaja supplanted the last Cavada king of Gujarat and established the Caulukya or Solanki dynasty. By all accounts in inscriptions, Jain narratives, and Brahmanical narratives Mularaja was a Saiva king operating within Brahmanical and Vedic paradigms of kingship. The thirteenth-century Brahmana Somesvara, for example, in his *Surathotsava* (p. 7) describes Mularaja being consecrated as king through the performance of a Vedic Vajapeya sacrifice. But the Jain narratives do not portray Mularaja as being hostile to Jain interests. Rather, they describe Mularaja as supporting both Brahmanical and Jain institutions, and so present a model of a king who, while Saiva in his personal religious practice, allows for and supports a diverse range of religious traditions.

The small kingdom which Mularaja took over was an area with a significant and influential Jain population. Further, there was a certain degree of continuity between the two dynasties in terms of officials, and Jains were to be found among those officials. A new king, therefore, would be at pains to ensure the allegiance of this important segment of the population. Mularaja built both the Mulavasatika (Mula's Residence) temple for the Digambaras and the Mulanatha-jinadeva (The Jina Who is Mula's Lord) temple for the Svetambaras (Dhaky 1968, 294). On one level, this act was designed to ensure the allegiance of the Jains in his newly won kingdom. But the building of a temple or temples to confirm a king's



sovereignty was more than merely a statement of support for (and the corresponding expectation of reciprocal support from) a particular community. Attaching one's own name to a temple and to the main image therein, to indicate

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that one is a devoted servant (*bhakta*) of that deity, is a time-honored pattern in India, pursued by laity, royalty, and even the gods themselves in the case of the shrine to Siva established by Rama at Ramesvaram. In the case of a king, however, the relationship is more than one of merely servant-lord. Ronald Inden (1990, 235 n. 19) has argued for translating *bhakti* in this royal context not as "devotion," but rather as "participation," "because it connotes the sharing in the life of a lord." In other words, such an act at once recognizes a particular deity as the true overlord of the universe, and states that a king is a participant, if only partial, in that overlordship.

While Mularaja thus supported the Jains and claimed participation in the Jain ontology of overlordship, the Jain narratives recognize that he was much more active in his support of Brahmanical, and especially Saiva, religious institutions. In the capital Anahillavada Pattana, he built the Saiva temple of Muñjala-devasvamin (Lord Muñjala's Master), named after his paternal grandfather (PCi, 25). The main focus of his donations was not in the capital, but rather the Saiva temple of Somanatha on the Saurashtrian coast. This is the most important Saiva temple in western India, and its possession and endowment was an important mark of sovereignty for regional kings, just as its destruction was a matter of importance for Muslim kings from Mahmud of Ghazni onwards (see Davis 1997, 88-112). According to both Merutunga (PCi, p. 25) and Arisimha (SS 2.3), Mularaja made a pilgrimage from Pattana to Somanatha every Monday; Monday is *somavara*, "Moon Day," and so especially important for Somanatha, "Moon's Lord." (This story is, of course, patently improbable, given the great distance involved of some 450 miles roundtrip!)

Merutunga (PCi, 25) emphasizes Mularaja's further devotion to Somanatha or Somesvara. Somesvara was so pleased at Mularaja's devotion that he came to Mandali (present-day Mandal) on the border between Saurashtra and north Gujarat in order to meet his devotee halfway. In response, Mularaja built the Mulesvara ("Mula's Lord") Temple at Mandali, "and went there every day in the ecstasy of his devotional fervour." Somesvara was even more pleased, and so manifested himself in the capital Pattana. He brought the sea with him, and his presence was confirmed by the fact that the water in all the city's reservoirs became brackish. To house the divine guest, Mularaja built the Tripurusa Temple in Pattana, a temple also referred to by Arisimha (SS 2.4). Hemacandra also describes Mularaja's devotion of Somanatha; chapters two through five of his *Dvyasrayakavya* depict the war Mularaja fought with the barbarian king Grahariṣṭa to protect Somanatha, and culminate with Mularaja's worshipping the *linga* of Somanatha (DK 5.133).

A king's building or renovation of a major regional temple had a further aim besides social solidarity within the kingdom and the expression of the king's identity with a deity: such an act was also a political statement of the king's might vis-à-vis other kings, both those of neighboring lands and more distant kings who claimed paramountcy within India's "imperial formation." 10 As Inden (1990, 230)

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has emphasized, "the building of a temple was, for example, as much an act of war as it was an act of peace, as much a political as it was a religious act." Building a temple could be the culmination of a successful war; Krsnaji (RM 8.13) reports that the Gurjara king Bhuvada, who killed Vanaraja Cavada's father Jayasekhara, built a Siva temple named Gurjaresvara (The Gurjara's Lord) on the site of the latter's cremation. By establishing his control over the temple at Somanatha, and then constructing an incarnation of that very temple in his capital, Mularaja was publicly stating his own power, and equating his own royal sovereignty with the spiritual sovereignty of Siva. 11 Kings frequently built temples with an eye towards temples built by other kings. 12 Mularaja's public enunciation of his relationship with (and participation in) Somanatha can be seen as a political statement to other kings of his self-estimation.

The personal beliefs of a king were a matter separate from royal policy in medieval India. Nonetheless, the narratives do provide us occasional glimpses of the personal leanings of individual kings. Merutunga (PCi, pp. 28-29) and Arisimha (SS 2.7) depict Mularaja choosing to undertake a specifically Saiva rite of death, in which he abandoned the world (and his throne) and lit a fire on the big toe of his right foot. In the narratives, the choice of mode of death is an important marker of a ruler's religious allegiance, as is also seen in the case of Kumarapala, who is portrayed by Merutunga (p. 151) as participating in the Jain rite of death in meditation. But only in rare cases does this allegiance translate into broader

In the case of the Jain narratives of Mularaja, we have descriptions of a king who granted extensive support to the full range of Brahmanical and Saiva interests, and who chose to die in a Saiva rite of renunciation. But at the same time, the Jain authors indicate that a good Brahmanical king also gave royal support to the Jains by building and endowing temples to the Jain gods. What we do not see in the case of Mularaja is royal support for Jain mendicants; this becomes a major theme in the case of the later Caulukya king, Jayasimha Siddharaja.

# Jayashimha Siddharaja: A Saiva King Who Patronized Jain Mendicants

The involvement of Jayasimha Siddharaja (r. 1094-1143) in Jain matters as portrayed in the narratives went beyond the patronage bestowed by Mularaja to include active intervention in affairs seemingly internal to the Jain community, and even to involve humbling himself before Jain mendicants. While Jain narrators still portray the king as a Saiva, his involvement in the moral universe of the Jains through his close contact with Jain mendicants takes us a step closer to a distinctively Jain theory of kingship.

The narratives of Merutunga and Hemacandra portray Jayasimha, like Mularaja, as a strong supporter of Saiva institutions. At the urging of his mother,

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he remitted all the pilgrim taxes related to Somanatha (PCi, p. 84). In the royal capital, he constructed a magnificent water tank, called "Sahasralinga," (Thousand Lingas) after the myriad of small Siva shrines on its banks (PCi, 86; SS 2.35). At nearby Sidhpur he renovated or rebuilt the great temple of Siva, the Rudramahalaya or Rudramahakala (PCi, 90; DK 15.15). According to Merutunga, "On the occasion of setting up the flag on that temple, he had the flags of all the Jaina temples lowered," as a statement of royal favor for the Saivas over the Jains. Merutunga goes on to note that in this Jayasimha was echoing his rival Saiva king, Yasovarman of Malava, for Jayasimha's order was "as in the country of Malava when the banner of Mahakala is displayed, [when] no flag is hoisted on any Jaina temple."

The Jain authors relate that Jayasimha, like Mularaja, also extended support to Jain temples. Hemacandra (DK 15.16-17) says that he built a temple of Mahavira at Sidhapura, and performed *bhakti* to the entire Jain congregation there. According to Prabhacandra (PCa 22.328-29) and Merutunga (PCi, 96), he participated in the construction by his governor Sajjana of a new stone temple of Neminatha at Giranara in Saurashtra. Merutunga relates a story that indicates that Jain-Brahmana relations were not always amicable, and which contrasts with the oftentimes mild treatment of Brahmanas in the Jain narratives. Jayasimha wanted to see the Giranara temple while returning from a pilgrimage to nearby Somanatha, but, in the words of Merutunga, "was dissuaded by means of false representations by the Brahmanas, who were filled with excessive envy." Merutunga continues his harsh portrayal of these Brahmanas, who further tried to prevent Jayasimha from worshiping at the nearby Jain mountaintop shrine of Satrunjaya, the most important Jain shrine in western India, as "these same men, who were treacherous, like all their caste, and merciless, barred his way to the holy place, sword in hand." Merutunga's criticism is aimed only at the Brahmanas, not at the king, as he says that Jayasimha cleverly donned a pilgrim's garb so that he was able successfully to climb the mountain, worship the Jina image, after which "he was, so to speak, like one who had his eyes opened, like one bathed in nectar." Prabhacandra, in an account that is striking in its silence, does not mention the mischievous Brahmanas, but does record that the king donated twelve villages for the maintenance of the temples (PCa 22.325).

In none of this temple-related activity is Jayasimha portrayed in a way that differs significantly from the portrait of Mularaja. What is distinctive about Jayasimha is his close involvement with Jain mendicants. Jinaprabha (VTK 40), for example, describes Jayasimha publically honoring the famous Abhayadevasuri, and giving him the title Maladhari (Filthy) in recognition of his ascetic practice of never washing.

Jayasimha is perhaps best known in the Jain narratives for his role in a famous debate that occurred in Pattana between the Svetambara Vadidevasuri and the Digambara Kumudacandra. This debate is described in detail by Merutunga (PCi, 97-104) and Prabhacandra (PCa 21.81-251). According to Merutunga (but

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not Prabhacandra), Vadidevasuri was assisted in the debate by a more famous junior colleague, Hemacandra. The debate, on the disputed questions of whether or not the Jinas eat while still embodied, whether or not a woman can attain liberation, and whether or not a mendicant must wear clothes, was held in the royal court, with Jayasimha himself as judge. Kumudacandra was defeated by Vadidevasuri's eloquence and logic, even though he tried to counter Vadidevasuri by magically lodging a hair ball in the latter's throat. Merutunga (PCi, 103) portrays Jayasimha as treating the victorious Vadidevasuri in a manner that symbolically illustrated the superiority of the Jain mendicant to the king. The king, in order to escort Vadidevasuri to the latter's monastery, "lent him his hand to lean on, and so went along with four white umbrellas carried over his head, fanned by a multitude of chowries, and as he went, the twin conchs were blown, and the sky filled with the sounds of crashing drums." All of these are symbols of royalty, here being shared by the king with the mendicant, and demonstrating the Jain view of the king as inferior to the true mendicant. The king then worshiped in a Jain temple, and presented to Vadidevasuri twelve villages, a shawl, and other gifts as a reward for his eloquence. Kumudacandra, as punishment for losing the debate, was banished from the capital through the inauspicious south gate.

Here we see a Saiva king intervening in what might seem to be a matter internal to the Jain community, but which did in fact have broader social consequences. This was not a unique occurrence. According to the *Pattavalivacana* (1037-38), an anonymous lineage history of the Kharatara Gaccha, Acarya Jinesvarasuri traveled to the royal capital during the reign of the Caulukya king Durlabha (r. 1009-1021), and challenged the propriety of the domesticated (*caityavasi*) 14 mendicants. Jinesvarasuri told the king to have a copy of the *Dasavaikalika Sutra*, the most important text for mendicant praxis, brought from the library and read aloud in the court. Durlabha found in favor of Jinesvarasuri, and gave him the title *kharatara*, "very staunch," which later became the title for the entire lineage.<sup>15</sup>

It is clear that Jain authors considered a non-Jain king (or at least a just non-Jain king, although none of the authors is explicit on this point) to have authority over certain matters of Jain mendicant praxis, and that matters seemingly internal to a religious community were also public matters of state. Lay involvement in mendicant affairs was not unprecedented, and the entirety of the fourfold Jain community (*caturvidh* or *sakala sangha*) of male and female mendicants and male and female laity was considered to be the final arbiter of authority in the Jain tradition (Cort 1991, 665). In particular, laity were enjoined to ensure that mendicants stayed within the bounds of prescribed mendicant praxis. While a mendicant was morally superior to a king in a one-to-one relationship between mendicant and king-as-layman, as we shall see in the relationship between Hemacandra and Kumarapala, if the king was acting on behalf of the entire congregation then he had a duty to intervene to correct mendicant behavior; in both these cases the question at hand was one of mendicant conduct. At the same time, this

royal authority was not absolute. From the perspective of Jain *dharma* the authority of a king was inferior to the spiritual authority of an orthoprax mendicant, as seen in the manner by which Jayasimha honored Vadidevasuri.

Jayasimha's treatment of Vadidevasuri typified royal treatment of generals, poets, and intellectuals, who helped advance the glory of the king's court, and therefore of the king himself. Jayasimha's attraction to Hemacandra, who was known as both a great scholar and a great poet, was due to such a motive.<sup>16</sup> The different accounts of the way Hemacandra came to Jayasimha's attention all focus upon the mendicant's ability to compose a witty verse praising the king (PCi, 87-88; PCa 22.64-73). Many stories further detail the rivalry between Hemacandra and the blind poet Sripala for royal favors (Sandesara 1964). Hemacandra eventually became the court *pandit* and annalist of Jayasimha Siddharaja. In honor of his patron, Hemacandra entitled his first major work, a grammar of the Prakrit and Sanskrit languages, the *Siddhahema*, "Composed for Siddha[raja] by Hema[candra]." According to Merutunga (PCi, 88-89), in an event that has also been illustrated in medieval Jain paintings (figure 6.1), the first copy of the grammar was treated in a manner almost equal to the honor shown Vadidevasuri:

The book was placed by the king's orders on the forehead of the state elephant, and a white umbrella was held over it, and it was fanned with two chowries by female chowrie-bearers, and so it was brought to the king's palace, and with great and distinguished honour was deposited in the royal treasury. Then by the king's order all other grammars were discarded, and that grammar was read everywhere.

While the Jain authors portray Jayasimha as a supporter of the Jain community through acts of temple building and maintenance, and through his personal support of Hemacandra, they still recognize him as a Saiva king. But they portray his Saivism as tempered by an attitude of religious impartiality towards all religious communities. Merutunga (PCi, 105-6)

relates a story, which he entitles "The Narrative of Believing in all Philosophies" (Sarvadarsanamanyatapra-bandha), of Jayasimha being curious about the teachings of all the religious teachers, and summoning Hemacandra for assistance. The Jain teacher, rather than argue for his own tradition, instead told the story of a woman who transformed her husband into a bull, but did not know how to reverse the transformation. Siva appeared to the woman and said that her husband could be cured by a herb in the shadow of a particular tree. The woman thereupon fed all of the plants in the shadow to the bull, who returned to a human form, "though it was never known which particular plant it was that produced the effect" The moral of this story was that salvation can be attained "by the devout cultivation of all systems" (*sar-vadarsana*), after which Jayasimha "began to cultivate all religions" (*sarva-dharma*). In other words, in recognition that in the world of realpolitik the Jains

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Figure 6.1.

Presentation of the *Siddhahema*. Palm-leaf manuscript of the *Hemasabdanusasana Laghuvrtti*, dated C.E. 1134. Hemacandra Jain Jñan Mandir, Patan, no. 180. Photograph by John E. Cort.

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would rarely achieve a position of hegemony, the Jain narratives argued that an ideal king should both support all religious communities generously and treat them with impartiality.

## Vanaraja Cavada: A Jainized King

The Jain authors did not merely present portraits of tolerant and supportive Saiva kings; they could and did advance stronger claims for an ideal Jain kingship. This is seen in the narratives of the first king in Anahillavada Pattana, Vanaraja Cavada. In the eighth century, the home of the Capotkatas or Cavadas, a local Saiva dynasty, was in Pañcasara, some thirty-five miles southwest of Anahillavada Pattana. In the early years of that century, according to a Brahmanical narrative, the *Ratnamala* of Krsnaji, King Jayasekhara was killed by a rival king. According to both Krsnaji and Merutunga, his pregnant wife Rupasundari fled from the town into the surrounding countryside, where she gave birth to a son. Since he was born in the jungle, she named him Vanaraja (Forest King). Merutunga (PCi, 16-17) goes on to say that one day when Rupasundari had gone off to gather fuel, the infant was seen by the Jain Acarya Silagunasuri, who recognized from the infant's bodily signs that he was destined to further Jainism. The *acarya* assumed that this meant the boy was to be a great mendicant, and so purchased the boy from his mother, and placed him in the care of the *sadhvi* (female mendicant) Viramati.

As Merutunga continues the story, the eight-year-old boy was entrusted with the duty of preventing rats from eating the offerings of flowers and fruit in a Jain temple. When Vanaraja employed the distinctly non-Jain expedient of killing the rats by throwing rocks at them, Silagunasuri decided that he should prepare the boy's horoscope. He saw that Vanaraja was destined to promote the Jain faith not as a monk but as a king, and so the boy was given back into the care of his mother, and lived with his maternal uncle Surapala, a local bandit. We have here an interesting inversion of the widespread Jain



motif of a king who renounces worldly power for the greater victory of becoming a mendicant (or a Jina). This inversion indicates the recognition that if all kings became mendicants there would be no one left to protect the Jain community, and also that the best king is one who has undergone the self-discipline of mendicant practice.

Vanaraja followed his uncle's profession for many years before he decided to settle down and build a capital. He searched on the banks of the Sarasvati River, near the town of Lakkharama. 17 He was given a stretch of land by a herder named Anahilla, and so Vanaraja named the new capital "Anahillapura" or "Anahillavada Pattana" (Anahilla City). There he had himself enthroned as king. According to the anonymous *Vanarajavrttam* (in PPS, 12), the royal lustration (*rajyabhiseka*) was performed by his guru. Merutunga (PCi, 19) echoes this when he states that the kingdom "was established with Jaina *mantras*." The modern au-

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thors Triputi Maharaj (1952, 494) expand upon this, and say that the lustration was performed with *vasaksepa* powder 18 by both Silagunasuri and his disciple Devacandrasuri.

Ronald Inden has discussed at length the importance of the act of royal lustration or "ceremonial bath" (*rajyabhiseka*), which he terms "affusion into kingship" (1990, 233). This ritual act was essential for the proper consecration and establishment of a ruler, just as the largely similar temple ritual of *abhiseka* (the Jains also use the synonymous term *snatra*) was essential for the proper consecration and establishment of an image of a deity. Both were actions that were repeated annually in order to reinforce the cosmological authority of the agent in question. The act of lustration not only purified the king, but also imbued him with "divine will," as Inden puts it (236). This ritual thus was a profoundly transformative one, in which the individual was transmuted into a new sort of being. To quote Inden (235) again, "The ceremonial baths are of particular interest from the standpoint of agency, for they were . . . construed by those involved in their performance as modifying the capacity of agents to act."

Whether a king was lustrated by a Brahmana or a Jain, therefore, was of great significance, for it betokened a specific theological understanding of kingship and agency. As Inden notes, the rite of lustration was "intimately involved in the metaphysics of the contending religions or soteriologies" (234), and so "to be ceremonially bathed in a Vaishnava milieu was different from being bathed in a Saiva or Buddhist milieu" (237) or, in the case of Vanaraja, in a Jain milieu. To be "affused into kingship" by dry *vasaksepa* powder that contained the charisma of a Jain *acarya* betokened a different understanding of the relationship between kingship and the cosmos than being lustrated by holy water in a Vaisnava or Saiva context. In the former case, the individual was simultaneously recognizing the humanity of his own agency and the superiority of the Jain *acarya*, whereas in the latter case the individual was transformed into an emanation of Visnu or Siva himself (233-34).

Vanaraja was also assisted in the establishment and ruling of his small kingdom by several prominent Jain laymen. He appointed one of them, the merchant Jamba, as prime minister. Toshikazu Arai (1978, 88) has commented that this episode is crucial to Merutunga's narrative definition of Vanaraja as a Jain king, for Vanaraja's "appointment of a courageous [Jain] merchant to the post of prime minister is indicative of one of the basic Jaina principles: quality rather than birth is the measure of a man's virtue." In repayment and recognition of the assistance given by these Jains, both mendicant and lay, Vanaraja arranged for the construction of a Jain temple to Parsvanatha, and named the main image in the temple Pancasara Parsvanatha, after his home town (PCi, 19; SS 1.10). According to Prabhacandra (PCa 19.15), he named the temple Vanarajavihara, after himself. While the Cavadas were themselves most likely not Jains, the Jain narratives portray Vanaraja as a devotee of Silagunasuri, a tradition echoed in the inscription on a medieval image of Devacandrasuri in the current Pancasara Parsvanatha

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temple, which calls Silagunasuri the guru of Vanaraja (see Triputi 1952, 471). This temple also contains a fifteenth-century image of Vanaraja in the pose of a Jain devotee. 19

In the narratives of Vanaraja, we see the Jain authors advancing a more distinctly Jain theory of kingship, although we still do not have a full-fledged Jain king, only a Jainized Saiva king. A Jainized king should build and endow Jain temples. A Jainized king is assisted by important Jain laymen in ruling the kingdom, and appoints these assistants

according to acquired moral worth rather than inherited status. A Jainized king is directly involved in matters of mendicant praxis, especially as they involve royal support of monastic establishments. But the narratives of Vanaraja go beyond what we have seen in the cases of Mularaja and Jayasimha, for Vanaraja is also portrayed as being a devotee of a Jain mendicant, and as receiving the spiritual authority to rule from that mendicant. While the king retains authority over the Jain community in many aspects of politics, at the same time the superiority of the Jain *dharma* and the Jain mendicant over the king is expressly stated.

### Kumarapala: A Jain King

Kumarapala (r. 1143-75) was the one king in the Caulukya dynasty who, by all accounts, both Jain and Brahmanical, personally became a Jain. Merutunga (PCi, 116) describes him as "that most exalted follower of the Jina" (*paramarhata*); chapters 36-38 in the Brahmanical *Dharmaranya Mahatmya* of the *Skanda Purana* refer to him as adhering to the heretical (*pakhanda*) Jain *dharma*; and nineteenth-century Brahmanical and Jain oral traditions describe the Saiva Sankaracarya killing Hemacandra as the only recourse to the Jain mendicant's pervasive influence on the king (Forbes 1878, 154-57).

Jayasimha Siddharaja died without a son, and was succeeded by his grandnephew Kumarapala. The Jain narratives portray Hemacandra as being instrumental in Kumarapala's accession. Jayasimha was bitterly opposed to the future succession of Kumarapala, and several times tried to have him killed (PCi, 116-17). On one occasion, it was Hemacandra who saved Kumarapala's life (PCa 22.357-75). Kumarapala was living in the capital, disguised as a Saiva ascetic, but was found out by Jayasimha and fled to Hemacandra's monastery. The Jain mendicant hid the prince and arranged for his escape from the king's soldiers. We have here, as in the case of Vanaraja, an inversion of the usual Jain motif of a king becoming a mendicant. Being a Saiva ascetic was inadequate, and Kumarapala had to flee to the shelter of a Jain mendicant before he could assume the throne. While Kumarapala does not complete the circle and at the end of his life renounce his kingship for mendicancy, Merutunga does relate that Kumarapala ended his life in mendicant-like fashion through "death in meditation (*samadhimarana*) in the manner he had been taught."<sup>20</sup> It was also Hemacandra who recognized from

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his bodily marks that Kumarapala was destined to be king (PCi, 118; PCa 22.384-85), and so helped Kumarapala establish the legitimacy of his claim after the death of Jayasimha.

Two different stories account for Kumarapala's "conversion." According to Prabhacandra (PCa 22.429-595), Kumarapala was unsuccessful in his attempts to conquer Ajameru (modern Ajmer, in Rajasthan). At the advice of one of his ministers, he worshiped an image of Ajitanatha (Invincible Lord, the second Jina of this era), which had been consecrated by Hemacandra. He promised that if he should be victorious, he would adopt Ajitanatha as his God, which he did. According to Merutunga (PCi, 123-33), Hemacandra was part of Kumarapala's retinue on a pilgrimage to Somanatha. After they had each worshiped Somanatha, Kumarapala asked Hemacandra to explain to him who is the true God. The two then entered the temple alone, where Hemacandra arranged for a direct vision of Siva. This god proclaimed to Kumarapala that the Jain path to liberation taught by Hemacandra was the true path. Kumarapala thereupon in Hemacandra's presence vowed to abstain from meat and liquor. <sup>21</sup> Later, in the capital Anahillavada Pattana, again under Hemacandra, he took the twelve vows (*anuvrata*) of a layman.

Following the conversion, Kumarapala requested his teacher Hemacandra to compose several books on the Jain religion. These were the *Trisastisalakapu-rusacaritra*, a telling of the Jain universal history; the *Yogasastra*, on how to be a proper Jain layperson; and the *Vitaraga Stotra*, a hymn in honor of the Jina that presents the Jain definition of God.<sup>22</sup> Kumarapala also endowed numerous Jain temples in a building program that went far beyond those of his predecessors. Hemacandra (TSPC 6:311)<sup>23</sup> says that Kumarapala with his unlimited power made "this earth adorned with temples of the Jinas in almost every village" and "in every village, in every city on earth, as far as the sea, he [made] a chariot-procession of the statues of the Jinas." Prabhacandra (PCa 22.681) says that the king built thirty-two small temples in Pattana to atone for the sins of his thirty-two teeth, while Merutunga (PCi, 133-50) adds that he built 1,440 temples throughout the country, built a temple in the capital named "Kumarapalavihara" (Kumarapala's Temple), built temples in Dhundukka and Stambhatirtha (Cambay) at the sites of Hemacandra's birth and mendicant initiation, and restored the shrines at Satruñjaya. Hemacandra (DK 20:98-100) himself describes the Kumaravihara as being topped by a gold spire and containing a crystal image of Parsvanatha. This temple, which Somaprabha describes as a large twenty-four shrine temple, is eulogized in a contemporary hymn by Hemacandra's disciple Ramacandra (Granoff 1993, 89-90). Somaprabha

(KP, 136-43) further says that Kumarapala built the Tribhuvanavihara, a seventy-two shrine temple to Neminatha, and twenty-four other temples to the twenty-four Jinas. Kumarapala is also credited with construction of the large pilgrimage temple to Ajitanatha at Taranga (PCa 22:721), as well as a temple to Mahavira at Abu (VTK 8:50), and a temple at Giranara (Burgess 1876, 168).<sup>24</sup>

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Traditional Indian discourse on kingship was frequently cast in the form of the definition of a universal monarch (*cakravartin*) who, by means of his superior moral and political powers, was able to conquer all of the directions (*digvijaya*), and thereby bring all of India into a single moral kingdom. Ronald Inden has observed that the concept of the *cakravartin* was not merely a political concept, but a profoundly theological concept. All of the religious traditions of India "incorporated into their soteriologies the idea of a universal monarch or paramount king of India, a 'great man' (*mahapurusha*) who, endowed with special powers, was able to complete a 'conquest of the quarters' of India in the name of a still greater agent, the one taken as overlord of the cosmos" (1990, 229).

The theory of the *cakravartin* was central to Buddhist political discourse, in which both the Buddha and the *cakravartin* are described as *mahapurusas*. The difference, however, is that the *cakravartin* is a great hero in the worldly (*laukika*) realm of action, whereas the Buddha is a hero in the spiritual (*lokottara*) realm of action. This distinction is encapsulated in the theory of the two wheels of *dharma*, in which, in the words of Stanley Tambiah (1976, 40), the spiritual wheel of *dharma* "as cosmic law and truth" encompasses and brackets the worldly wheel of *dharma* "of the righteous ruler [who] attempts to give order to this world." <sup>25</sup> The Buddhists and Jains both made a clear distinction between this-worldly (*laukika*) and otherworldly (*lokottara*) ideals, a distinction much less possible in the Brahmanical discourse of *bhakti* and *avatara*. This distinction allowed the Buddhist and Jain political theorists to establish the moral superiority of the other-worldly spiritual conqueror (Jina) to the this-worldly political conqueror (*cakravartin*). The Jains entered into this discourse of the ideal world conqueror, and included twelve *cakravartins* in their world history of sixty-three great men (*salakapurusa*, synonymous with *mahapurusa*) of each cycle of time. Paul Dundas (1991, 173) perceptively observes that this discourse is not marginal to Jain thought, but rather "martial conquest is the central image and metaphor of Jainism, giving the religion its very name." One of the books, which Hemacandra composed for the edification of Kumarapala, was a lengthy telling of the Jain universal history, the *Trisastisalakapu-rusacaritra* (The Deeds of the Sixty-three Great Men), and in that book he included a detailed depiction of the Jain notion of the *cakravartin*.

Hemacandra's description of Bharata, the first Jain *cakravartin* of this era and the eponymous founder of India as Bharata, comes in the first book of the TSPC.<sup>26</sup> Bharata was the son of Adinatha, the first Jina of this era, and so, to employ Inden's formula, not only acted as agent for the overlord of the cosmos,<sup>27</sup> but partook in some limited way in that overlordship through heredity. At the moment of his conception, his mother saw fourteen auspicious dreams (TSPC 1:148), the same as the mother of a Jina sees at the moment of the latter's conception. This is an indication that a *cakravartin* is by nature extraordinary, and has a similar ontological potential as a Jina. At a key moment in Bharata's career, the *cakra* or discus of world sovereignty appeared spontaneously in his armory. After properly worshipping the *cakra*, Bharata proceeded to conquer the world. The *cakra* it-

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self preceded the king and his army. Hemacandra describes this world conquest in the following terms (TSPC 1:216):

Everywhere this universal conquest was announced by favorable winds and favorable omens, as if by astrologers. The general, going in advance of the army, smoothed the uneven ground, that was like a ploughed field, with the staff-jewel like a harrow. The sky, cloudy from the dust raised by the army, shone with the pennants of the chariots and elephants that were like cranes. The Cakravartin's army with the rear-guard invisible appeared like a second Ganga, having an unimpeded course everywhere. The chariots by creaking, the horses by neighing, the elephants by roars, hastened each other as if to the business of a conquest-festival. The cavalry's lances shone in the dust dug up by the army as if laughing at the rays of the sun hidden by the dust. The best of kings, advancing surrounded by devoted crowned kings, looked like Sakra [Indra] with his Samanikas [attendant gods].

Before the actual conquest of each rival kingdom, Bharata spent four days performing the *pausadha vrata*, a lay ascetic practice in which he became a temporary mendicant, "wearing a white garment, his finery, wreaths, and ointments

removed, his weapons laid aside" (TSPC 1:218). In other words, in order to conquer the world the *cakravartin* must assume a mendicant-like renunciatory state, thereby recognizing the superiority of mendicancy over the royal state. It is the spiritual power derived from this renunciation that allows him to conquer the world. While performing *pausadha*, described by Hemacandra as "the foremost door to the accomplishment of desires . . . the herb for the nourishment of merit" (TSPC 1:218), Bharata concentrated his mind not on the Jina, as is customary in the performance of *pausadha*, but rather on the guardian deity of the enemy kingdom. Bharata then shot a bow into the middle of rival king's court, and the rival, realizing that it was impossible to defeat a *cakravartin*, submitted.

We see here a clear depiction of the Jain ideal world conqueror as an ideal Jain layman (*sravaka*), whose worldly powers are directly dependant upon his spiritual practices. This depiction of the ideal Jain king as an ideal Jain layman is seen even more clearly in a later section of the TSPC in which Hemacandra again describes an ideal king. While his account of the Jain *cakravartin* establishes a charter myth for Jain kingship, his later account comes closer to being a description of how an actual Jain king should act. In the course of telling the story of Mahavira, Hemacandra has Mahavira prophesy the reign of Kumarapala (TSPC 6:309):

There will be a king, Kumarapala, moon of the Caulukya family, very powerful, with a fierce unbroken rule. He, noble, a

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hero joined with liberality, will lead his subjects to extreme wealth, guarding them like a father. Straightforward, very clever, tranquil, like Indra in his command, forbearing, invincible, he will govern the earth for a long time. He will make the people like himself, settled in religion, full of knowledge, like a friendly teacher a pupil. A refuge for those desiring a refuge, a brother to other men's wives, he will esteem dharma more than life or wealth. In heroism, dharma, liberality, compassion, authority, and other manly qualities he will be without an equal. He will conquer the north up to the country of the Turks, the east up to the river of the gods (Ganga), the south to the Vindhya, the west to the ocean.

So far this description could apply to almost any Indian king. Hemacandra then has Mahavira prophesy Kumarapala's meeting with Hemacandra himself, and the role of the mendicant in the king's awakening to Jain right belief (*samyaktva*). Hemacandra describes Kumarapala further, this time not in the language of a pan-Indian king, but instead in the language of a righteous Jain king (TSPC 6:309-10):

. . . he will become proficient in lay-practices. Even in the assembly he will delight himself with a religious fellowship. Daily he will accept especially the restraints on food, vegetables, fruits, et cetera and will generally observe continence. He, intelligent, will not only abandon courtesans, but will enlighten his wives to practice continence.

This description of a vegetarian king is in stark contrast to the typical Hindu depiction of a king as someone whose martial vigor is generated by a diet of meat and liquor. An ideal Hindu king's martial prowess is further demonstrated by his sexual prowess; but here again Hemacandra indicates that the ideal Jain king rejects that model, and practices sexual restraint. The notion that continence and general sensory restraint are an even more effective means of generating moral and physical power is, of course, widespread in India; here, to paraphrase T. N. Madan (1987, 72-100), Hemacandra is advancing a *yogic*, renunciatory model of a king in contrast to a *bhagic*, extroverted model.

Hemacandra goes on to depict the ideal king as a spiritual teacher and as the exemplar in a proto-welfare state (TSPC 6:310):

Knowing the principles of jiva, ajiva, et cetera, 28 like an acarya, from the teaching of the muni [Hemacandra], he will enlighten others. . . . If the shrines do not have pujas, if the gurus are not honored, he, pious, having taken layman's vows, will not eat.

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He will not take the money of men who have died childless. That is the fruit of discernment.



In his initial depiction of Kumarapala, Hemacandra described him as a mighty king who conquered a wide area of western India. While the Jains have always been known as the foremost proponents of non-harm (*ahimsa*) in India, for whom non-harm is the essence of *dharma*, they have not been social pacifists. Hemacandra, as other Jain ideologues, considered warfare to be a normal and unavoidable activity of a king. 29 But as Lawrence Babb (1996, 213 n.46) and Paul Dundas (1991, 178) have pointed out, for Jain ideologues the institution of kingship is at best suspect and imperfect. It is especially dangerous to the moral condition of the king's soul. Hemacandra therefore expected a Jain king to adhere to the ethical absolute of non-harm in terms of personal conduct, especially in terms of activities traditionally associated with kings such as hunting, drinking, gambling, and animal fights. Hemacandra makes the point that even the Pandavas, the Brahmanical exemplars of righteous kingship, were lacking in this respect, thereby establishing the moral superiority of the Jain king to the Hindu king (TSPC 6:3 10-11):

He himself will give up hunting which was not given up by the Pandus and others; and all the people will give it up at his command. With him preventing injury (*hinsa*), not even an outcaste will kill a bug or a louse, to say nothing of hunting. . . . Just as he will suppress the preparation of liquor on earth, so the potter will not make liquor-vessels. When they have stopped drinking at his command, prosperity will come to those drinkers, whose prosperity was always destroyed by their addiction to liquor. That which was not given up formerly by kings, Nala and othersnamely, gambling, he will root up even the name, like his enemies. The sport of betting on pigeons and cock-fights will not exist, while his rule prevails on earth. 30

Ronald Inden has coined the term "theophanic polity" to describe the Brahmanical ideal of the king as *cakravartin* who participated in the very being of the deity who is the ultimate overlord, Visnu or Siva. He goes on to note, however, that this notion is not fully applicable to the Buddhists, for "the gods in Buddhism were hardly accorded the same ontological status that they are in Vaishnava or Saiva religious orders. There is even difficulty in talking about the Buddha as a cosmic overlord in the same way that Vaishnavas or Saivas do" (1990, 269).

The same can be said of the Jains: the Jain understanding of the nature of God (Jina, Arhat, Tirthankara) as fundamentally and totally absent from the earthly realm meant that the Jain understanding of the nature of the *cakravartin* was also quite different from the Vaisnava or Saiva notion. Whereas Vaisnavas and Saivas viewed the *cakravartin* as an emanation of the divine, the Jains saw the *cakravartin*

as less than fully divine. The Jain *cakravartin* was, nonetheless, on the way towards divinity, which, in the Jain case, means enlightenment and liberation; in the words of Hemacandra, Kumarapala "will flourish in power, wealth, and knowledge leading to emancipation" (TSPC 6:312). The Jain *cakravartin* was not god-like, nor did he partake in divine qualities; he was a *future* god. Here we see the importance of Hemacandra's discussion in the *Yogasastra* (2:4-7) and the *Vitaragastotra*, both composed for Kumarapala, of the nature of the true god as one who has totally conquered all passions (*vita-raga*; *jita-raga*) and thus has overcome all intentionality. God is not active and present in the world because God desires nothing, not even to help his devotees; unlike Hindu gods he neither punishes nor rewards his devotees (*Yogasastra* 2:6). This theological definition of God as inactive served to reorient the cosmological axis of the ideal king. The Jain king was a leader of the congregation of Jain devotees (*sanghapati*) rather than a divine emanation. The Jains saw a king such as Kumarapala as a special householder, and therefore as lesser than an *acarya* in terms of the spiritual hierarchy of the fourteen stages towards liberation (*gunasthanas*). By definition, a layman such as Kumarapala, who had accepted the twelve lay restraints (*vrata*), was only at the fifth stage, whereas a mendicant, who had accepted the five great restraints (*mahavrata*) was at least at the sixth stage. When the Jain *cakravartin* was on his tour of world conquest, the individual victories were possible only by the *cakravartin* taking off his royal regalia and assuming the state of a temporary mendicant. Similarly, Hemacandra in his *Yogasastra* prescribed the daily practice of Kumarapala. As part of this practice, the king was to go to the temple thrice daily to worship the Jina. Hemacandra instructed the king that he was not to go to the temple "anointed, perfumed, decorated, wearing special clothes and adornment, holding weapons, mounted on a special vehicle" (autocommentary on *Yogasastra* 3:122), for this was opposed to the Jain scriptures. Instead, the king was to renounce all this pomp when he went to the temple. The ideal Jain king did not partake in divinity; he was an ideal layman, who like all other Jain laity worshiped that divinity and attempted to attain that divinity through a practice that in the end renounced the worldly, kingly aspects of divinity that were central to the Brahmanical definitions of kingship. Kumarapala is depicted as a quasi-mendicant. In the narratives of the twelve *cakravartins* in the Jain universal history, ten of them renounce their kingship at the end of their lives to become mendicants and eventually either attain liberation or rebirth in a heavenly realm, just as the Jinas themselves renounced the possibility of universal kingship for

the greater victory over ignorance and karmic bondage.

Concluding Observations

We have seen here that in their narratives of the deeds of kings the medieval Jain authors present four models for kingship. In the story of Mularaja they portray a Saiva king who, while not renouncing his personal attraction to

Saivism, nonetheless is an active builder of Jain temples as a matter of royal policy. In the story of Jayasimha Siddharaja, we see this support of temples extended to the honoring and patronizing of Jain mendicants. Further, the narrators avail themselves of Jayasimha's personal relationship with Hemacandra to put into the Jain mendicant's mouth a moral of metaphysical agnosticism that could provide a theological underpinning to a political policy of impartiality. In the story of Vanaraja Cavada, the narrators move beyond a portrayal of the best the Jains might hope for in the potentially dangerous political universe of Saiva and Brahmanical kings to present a king who is ritually infused into his kingship through a distinctively Jain rite, thereby advancing a distinctive Jain ontology of kingship. Finally, the life of Kumarapala provided the narrators with the opportunity to describe a king who is fully involved both personally and politically in a Jain moral universe, and therefore in a Jain theory of kingship.

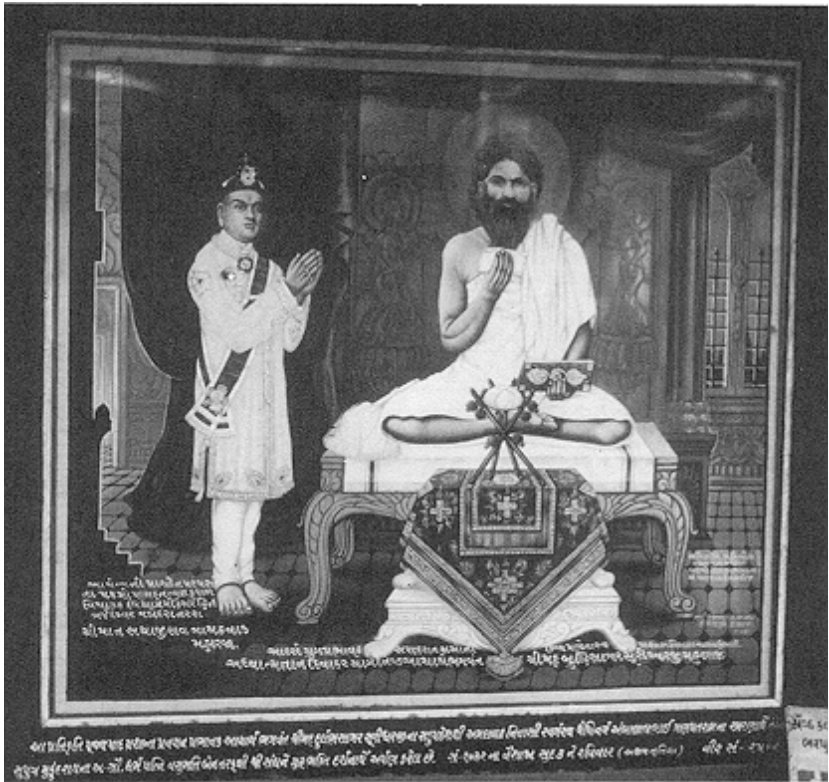


Figure 6.2.  
Acarya Buddhisagarsuri and Maharaja Sayaji  
Rao Gaekwad of Baroda. Painting in Jain Upasray,  
Carup, dated C.E. 1976. Photograph by John E. Cort.



Figure 6.3.

(Top) Hemacandra, (bottom) Kumarapala. Palm-leaf manuscript of the *Hemasabdanusasana Laghuvrtti*, dated C.E.. 1134. Hemacandra Jain Jñan Mandir, Patan, no. 180. Photograph by John E. Cort.

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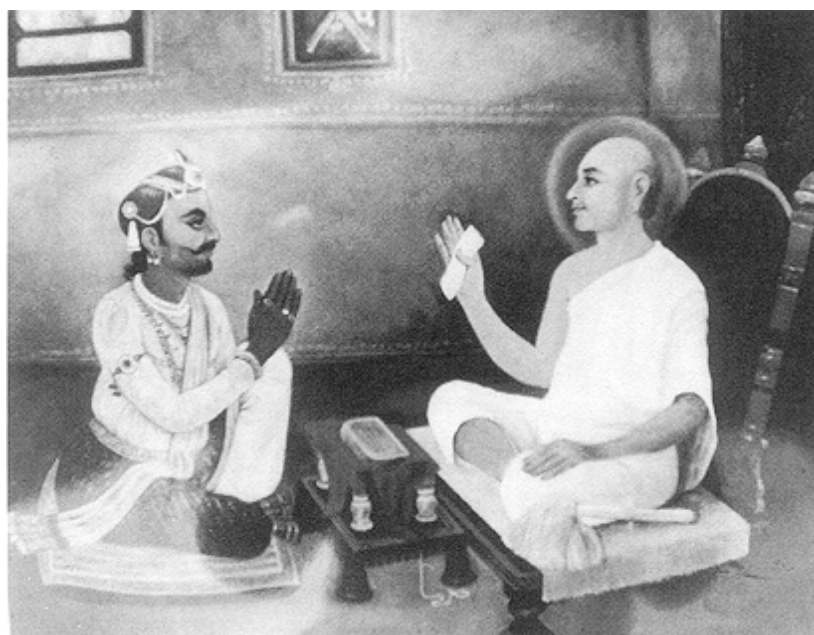


Figure 6.4.

Hemacandra and Kumarapala. Painting in Hemacandra Jain Jñan Mandir, Patan, dated C.E. 1989. Photograph by John E. Cort.

With the coming of Muslim rule to Gujarat at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Jains found themselves in a position in which they were gradually removed from the prevailing political discourse. Nonetheless, they were not totally removed from the political arena. Mendicants of both the Tapa and the Kharatara Gacchas attempted to influence the Mughal kings, along lines similar to the way Hemacandra influenced Jayasimha Siddharaja. Akbar is even portrayed as having been enlightened (*pratibodhita*), by Hiravijayasuri according to the Tapa Gaccha, and by Jinacandrasuri according to the Kharatara Gaccha, and as a result is said to have enforced non-harm in his kingdom on certain Jain holy days, and to have taken a vow to forego hunting (Desai 1941, 7-9; Smith 1917, 268-69). Jain narratives portray Jahangir in a similar



fashion, as influenced by various Jain mendicants to become an active supporter of the Jains (Findly 1987, 253; Desai 1941, 16-22). This model of Jain mendicants preaching to and influencing non-Jain kings is also applied to the early twentieth-century Tapa Gaccha Acarya Buddhisagarasuri, who is said to have influenced Sayaji Rao Gaekwad of Baroda. A painting seen in many Tapa Gaccha centers in the former Baroda state shows Buddhisagarasuri seated in the pose of a teacher, and Sayaji Rao standing barefoot with hands held before him in a gesture of respect (figure 6.2). This

painting is clearly modeled on medieval manuscript paintings of Kumarapala honoring his teacher Hemacandra (figures 6.3, 6.4). 31

But these reflect at best an attempt to extend earlier models of Jain political discourse into a new political culture that was by and large much less responsive to the terms of that Jain discourse. The political context of Muslim India, and even more so those of later British and independent India, was quite different from that of medieval western India. None of the models surveyed above was fully applicable to the changed circumstances.

One would expect that contemporary Jains would look to either the political evenhandedness of Mularaja or the soteriological agnosticism of Jayasimha Siddharaja to provide the best models for the interaction of the state and the Jain community. But instead it is Kumarapala whose story has the strongest place in the historical imagination of Gujarati Jains. The narratives of Kumarapala are not so much concerned with the practical possibilities of realpolitik as they are with remembering a golden age of perfection. As Hayden White has observed, narratives are not just about what happened in the past; narratives make the present morally comprehensible. Kumarapala remains alive as the one example in the history of western India of a king who was himself a Jain and who tried to realize in some small way in practice the Jain ideal of a king. At the same time, Jains recognize the temporal disjunction; in the present-day world there will not be a Jain king, for according to Jain cosmography we are in a period of inevitable moral decline. The golden age of Kumarapala will not return. Contemporary Jains are reminded of this every day in the temple, when, in the course of singing the auspicious *mangal divo* song to accompany the offering of a lamp (*arati*) before the Jina image, everyone sings, "Sing the lamp in this dark age of Kali, just as King Kumarapala offered the lamp."32

## Notes

1. While the current state boundaries of Gujarat and Rajasthan are largely irrelevant for an understanding of medieval western India, my comments nonetheless are more properly addressed to the areas of present-day central and north Gujarat dominated since the fourteenth century by Muslim and British rule. Older, pre-Muslim patterns endured to a greater extent in areas of Rajasthan, Saurashtra, and Kacch ruled by Rajputs.
2. Resolution 11 of the Sraman Sammelan held in Ahmedabad, adopted April 10, 1988. Published in *Jain* 85:16-17 (1988), p. 79.
3. For example, in 1657 Virji Vora, a Jain merchant from Surat, and Santidas Java-hari, the Jain Nagarseth (mayor) of Ahmedabad, each "loaned" some half-a-million rupees to Shah Jahan's son Murad Bakhsh when he attempted to succeed to the Mughal throne (Commissariat 1935, 69-71; Pearson 1976, 126-27).
4. I employ the following narratives in my discussion:

The *Dvyasrayakavya* of Hemacandra, written in the Caulukya capital of Anahillavada Pattana in the mid-twelfth century to illustrate the author's grammar of the Sanskrit

and Prakrit languages, the *Siddhahema*. This text describes the history of the Caulukya dynasty from Mularaja through Hemacandra's patron Kumarapala. See Narang 1972.

The *Trisastialakapurusacaritra*, also by Hemacandra, an encyclopedic poem of the Jain universal history.

The *Prabandhacintamani* of Merutunga, finished in Vardhamana (modern Wadhwan) in Saurashtra in 1305 C.E., less



than a decade after the defeat of Karna, the last Rajput king of Gujarat, and the fall of Anahillavada Pattana to the army of the Tughluq sultan 'Ala-u'd-Din Khalji. Merutunga treats all the kings of western India from Vanaraja Cavada through the Vaghela dynasty.

The *Prabhavakacarita* of Prabhacandra, completed in 1278, giving the stories of twenty-two illustrious Svetambara mendicants.

The *Sukrtasamkirtana*, composed around 1229 C.E. by the Brahmana poet, Arisimha, as a panegyric for his Jain patron, the minister Vastupala. See Bühler 1902.

I have also consulted, but not used extensively, the following narratives: the *Kumarapalapratibodha* of Somaprabha, a younger contemporary of both Hemacandra and Kumarapala, completed in 1184 (see Alsdorf 1928); Rajasekhara's *Prabandhakosa*, completed in 1349; and the *Vividhatirthakalpa* of Jinaprabha, completed in 1333 in the Tughluq capital of Daulatabad (see Chojnacki 1995 and Granoff 1992).

5. Toshikazu Arai (1978, 785) makes a similar observation, when he says that Merutunga "not only collected oral traditions but selected his stories and refashioned them so that the work would conform to his own moral values."

6. My translation; compare PCi, 2. Unless otherwise noted, all references to and quotations from the *Prabandhacintamani* are from Tawney's 1899 translation, for ease of reference by readers who do not know Sanskrit.

7. My understanding of medieval western India as a polycentric society in which there was broad agreement on political ideals, and at the same time political and ideological competition among the different groups that constituted that society, is informed by Burton Stein's analysis of medieval south Indian polity along the model of what he terms the "segmentary state" (1980, 1995). While there are significant differences between medieval south India and medieval western India, the powerful presence of the Jains in western India, for one, Stein's model is nonetheless useful in helping us better understand the nature of Jain participation in the state. For an important critique of Stein, see Chattopadhyaya 1994, 183-222.

8. While "Saiva" and "Brahmana" frequently overlapped as identities, especially when contrasted to "Jain," the two categories were not coterminous, and since many medieval Saivas in western India were Pasupatas, the two groups were in some cases antagonistic.

9. Here we see the oft-cited Indian emphasis on *orthopraxy* over *orthodoxy*.

10. This term is Inden's (1990, 29-33).

11. By the same token, the iconoclastic destruction of the Somanatha temple in 1025 by Mahmud of Ghazni revealed a Muslim recognition of this equation of spiritual and royal sovereignty. While Muslim historians present Mahmud as largely motivated by the chance to seize the great wealth of the temple, they also present him as being aware of

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the religio-political importance of the shrine. See Nazim (1931, 209-12) for passages from several Muslim historians on the centrality of Somanatha in the religious and political life of eleventh-century western and northern India.

12. The most famous example concerns the grand temple of Jagannatha in Puri, in eastern India, erected by Codaganga sometime after 1135 (Kulke 1978, 135-36). A century earlier the south Indian Cola king Rajaraja the Great built in his capital of Thanjavur (Tanjore) the Brhadisvara temple, which was then the largest temple in all of India, in order to symbolize his royal power. The image of Siva in the temple was Rajarajesvara, to indicate the conflation of the king's personhood with Siva's. When, a century later, Codaganga wanted to lay public claim to a status equal to that of the Cola king, he built a new temple to Visnu as Jagannatha (Lord of the World) that was *exactly* as high (216 feet) as the Cola Brhadisvara temple.

13. The most famous anti-Jain example in the Jain narratives is that of Kumarapala's successor Ajayapala (r. 1174-77), who, according to several Jain authors (Merutunga, PCi, 151-54; Rajasekhara, PK, 98-100; anonymous *Ajayapalaprabandha* in PPS, 47-49), destroyed Jain temples and executed Hemacandra's disciple Ramacandra. The silence of other authors on these matters, and the evidence of public Jain activities, such as the performance of *Moharajaparajaya*, a drama authored by the Jain minister Yasahpala, which celebrated the life of Kumarapala, should

warn us against taking the claims of oppression at face value.

14. The struggle between domesticated (*caityavasi*) and peripatetic (*vanavasi*) mendicants is a dominant theme of medieval Jain history. See Cort 1991, 657-60.

15. See also Klatt 1882, 248, and Abhayatilakagani's commentary to Hemacandra's DK 7.64.

16. There are many sources for the life of Hemacandra. These include PCi, 126-29; PCa, ch. 22; PK, ch. 10; KP, ch. 1; and Bühler 1936.

17. According to Jinaprabhasuri (VTK 26), a temple of Neminatha had existed in Lakkharama for several centuries before Vanaraja founded Anahillapura. In other words, the site Vanaraja chose for his capital was already hallowed by the presence of a Jain temple.

18. This is a mixture of saffron and sandalwood powder, over which an *acarya* has said an empowering *mantra*. Jains view it as being an extremely efficacious physical extension of the charisma of the empowering *acarya*. See Cort 1989, 335-36.

19. For a discussion of this image, see Burgess and Cousins 1902, 6. Such an image was also mentioned by Merutunga (PCi, 19) in the early fourteenth century, so the present image is presumably a copy of an older one.

20. My translation from page 95 of the Sanskrit text; compare PCi, 151

21. Lawrence A. Babb (1996, 138) observes that this change in dietary practice is perhaps the single most important indicator of transformation from Rajput to Jain in Rajasthani Jain narratives.

22. These are the three texts mentioned by Merutunga (PCi, 133). G. C. Pande (1984, 80) says that Hemacandra also composed for Kumarapala's instruction a short treatise-

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tise on royal polity, the *Laghavarhanniti*, but gives no indication of his source for such an assertion. This text is also discussed by U. N. Ghoshal (1959, 475-93). Derrett (1976) has conclusively shown, however, that the *Laghavarhanniti* is a later composition, and so I have omitted it from my discussion.

23. All quotations from the TSPC are from Helen Johnson's translation, again for ease of reference by non-Sanskrit readers.

24. But on the Giranara temple, see also Dhaky 1989.

25. For the Buddhist ideology of the two wheels of *dharma*, see Ghoshal 1959, 77-79, 267-68; Gokhale 1966; Reynolds 1972; and Tambiah 1976, 32-53.

26. See Dundas 1991, 177-85 for a discussion of the south Indian Digambar Jinasena's relating of the story of Bharata in his eighth-century *Adipurana*.

27. Here it is important to remember that Adinatha (Primal Lord) is not only the first religious victor (Jina) who establishes religion in this era, but before renouncing the world, he was also the first king and in that context established civilization and culture in the world. In this context, Jaini (1977) has appropriately compared the role of Adinatha in the Jain tradition with that of Brahma in the Hindu tradition.

28. These are the nine principles of Jain metaphysics, that constitute the objects of right worldview (*samyag-darsana*) and right knowledge (*samyag-jñāna*) upon which right conduct (*samyak-caritra*) is based.

29. The author of the *Laghavarhanniti* (see note 22) gives extensive practical advice on how and when a king should wage war (Pande 1984, 92-94; Ghoshal 1959, 491-92). See also Basham 1988, 87.

30. See Somaprabha, KP, ch. 2-5, for another lengthy description of Kumarapala as the ideal Jain king, who banned animal slaughter throughout his kingdom, gave up drinking and gambling, abandoned the practice of the state seizing the wealth of those who died sonless, and practiced extensive gifting to the Jain community.

31. The best earliest extant example of this motif, dated according to the manuscript colophon to 1144, or within a year of the event described, is too faded to reproduce here. It consists of two side by side illustrations from a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Dasavaikalika Laghuvrtti* in Cambay, published by Sarabhai Navab (1954, Plate IV, picture 10). The left illustration of a monk in a teaching posture is labeled as Hemacandra; the right illustration of a king seated lower than and honoring a monk is labeled as Kumarapala and Mahendrasuri (presumably the disciple of Hemacandra who wrote the *Anekarthakairavakarakaumudi* commentary on Hemacandra's *Anekarthasangraha* [Sah 1969, 85-86]). This motif of a king honoring a monk was widespread in medieval Jain painting, particularly in the manuscript illustrations to the popular *Kalakacaryakathas* (Brown 1933), which in the Tapa Gaccha were frequently attached to manuscripts of the *Kalpa Sutra*, a central Svetambara text for mendicant praxis. These illustrations also served as the basis for the modern painting of Kumarapala honoring Hemacandra illustrated in figure 6.4. While no thirteenth-century paintings show Hemacandra and Kumarapala in the same painting, several manuscripts juxtapose paintings of each of them, as in figure 6.3. For another example, from a palm-leaf manuscript of the TSPC dated

1238, and located in the manuscript to illustrate Hemacandra's teaching of Kumarapala discussed in this chapter, see Navab 1954, plate IV, pictures 12-15.

32. *Sudharas Stavan* Sangrah, p. 96.

Chapter Seven  
Sweetmeats or Corpses?  
Community, Conversion, and Sacred Places  
*Michael W. Meister*

This essay is about the multilayered life of things. It is in part intentionally neither linear nor consecutive. In it I attempt to combine narrative evidence from one text, standing monuments, available inscriptions, and ethnographic observations made by many passersby over time. If these speak with multiple voices, it is their multiplicity that I wish to record. If they overlap in significant ways, I wish that significance to rise only slowly to the surface.

If there have been indeed "open boundaries" for Jain interstices in the categories of traditional India there also are boundaries open for history as a whole. The very origin of many lay Jain communities, through "conversion" by an ascetic Jain teacher at some time in the past, is one such interstice. Evidence may always resist a single narrative. The many valid perceptions of history require that multiple, conflicting narratives not be reconciled, but explored.

The site I will explore in this chapter is one temple-place the town of Osiañ in the Rajasthan desert that is of particular importance to Jainism in Western India. I will look not only at what survives at the site, but also at the history of the site's use, reuse, and reformation over time. 1 In exploring the continuing role of the monuments at Osiañ, I have drawn on three bodies of evidence: first, the archaeological record of both monuments and inscriptions (Bhandarkar 1907, 1909, 1910; Nahar 1918; Dhaky 1968; Meister and Dhaky 1991); second, a seventeenth-century text called the *Pattavali of the Upakesa-Gaccha* or the "list of pontiffs of Osiañ's [ancient Upakesa] lineage" (Hoernle 1890); and third, a body

of minor ethnographic observations recorded by visitors to Osian in this century. In doing so, I hope in part to provide an object rooted case study for testing the definitions of "ritual culture" provided by Lawrence A. Babb (in this volume). 2

Archaeological Remains

D. R. Bhandarkar (1907) was the first archaeologist to report on the monuments at Osian. Having been informed, as he approached the site over the desert (1909, 101), that

there were only two temples at Osia that would be archaeologically interesting, viz. the temple of Mahavira and the temple of Sachiya Mata, which have been referred to in both the Hindu and Jaina accounts.

He went on, however, and found instead a site rich in archaeological artifacts: "On my visit I found that the place was studded with the ruins of many old fanes." <sup>3</sup>

His first information was correct, however, in terms of then current ritual practice and patronage. Today at Osiañ there are still only three ancient temples in worship, both of those mentioned by villagers in 1907 and a third, a recently renovated small Siva shrine (Meister and Dhaky 1991, 189-9). The villagers (as well as the archaeological department's watchmen) still use the other archaeological remains for storage, denying that they are temples (*mandirs*).<sup>4</sup> Instead they call them "*bhuta-grhas*" (houses for ghost-spirits) (Meister 1989).

The Mahavira temple at Osiañ of circa the late eighth century C.E., in fact, is the oldest Jain temple surviving in western India today (Dhaky 1968, 312-27; Meister and Dhaky 1991, 182-89) (figure 7.3). This now serves as "mother temple" for many among the broad disbursed merchant community of Osval Jains, some of whom send their male children to the attached school (Vashishtha 1988). This temple does not serve, however, as "origin" temple for the Osval Jains (that is, as the shrine of their *kul-devi*, or lineage goddess). That role today is reserved for the larger pilgrimage temple to Sacciya Mata (mother Sacciya) on the hill at Osiañ (Babb 1993, 9-10) (figure 7.1). The anthropologist Lawrence A. Babb, in an article in the *Journal of Asian Studies* (1993, 9) cites Osval origin myths what he calls "the Osiya legend" both as told to him by priests (*pujaris*) of the Sacciya Mata temple in 1991 as well as from printed sources, but does not make the distinction, as had Dhaky (1967, 64), between Brahmanical and Jain versions. He describes Sacciya Devi (goddess Sacciya) as "a Jain goddess enshrined at a famous temple at Osiya, and clan goddess (*kul devi*) to many Osval Jains" (Babb 1993, 9, note 9).

Both the Sacciya Mata and Mahavira temples at Osiañ have had interesting histories of use, transformation, and reuse (Meister 1989). The Mahavira temple had been in the hands of functionaries (*sevaks*) for many centuries before its re-

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turn to a committee of the Osval community within this century. The present Osval Jain school seems to have been established only a little more than seventy-five years ago. <sup>5</sup> The present *pujari* at the temple, who confirms that he is "Brahman, not Jain,"<sup>6</sup> identifies the reestablishment of the temple and the founding of the community school with patronage from a devout lay Jain from the town of Medta-Phalodi.<sup>7</sup> This is supported in the *Jain Tirth Sarvasangraha* (Shah 1953), where it is stated that no Jains resided in Osiañ at that time and that the temple was then managed from Phalodi.<sup>8</sup>

New patronage for the extensive conservation and rebuilding of this earliest of western Indian Jain temples in the late 1970s and 1980s, however carried out in part, I suspect, in response to M. A. Dhaky's pioneering scholarship in the 1960s, identifying the temple's historical importance to the present western Indian Svetambara Jain community (Dhaky, 1968)<sup>9</sup> has come instead from the Anandji Kalyanji trust in Ahmedabad, which had also taken on responsibility for many other major Jain pilgrimage temples throughout Gujarat and southern Rajasthan following independence. <sup>10</sup>

The Sacciya Mata temple's complex on the hill at Osiañ (figures 7.1-7.2) began with a shrine with an image of the beatific goddess Ksemankari (one of the Nava-Durgas) early in the eighth century C.E. (Dhaky 1967).<sup>11</sup> This small shrine seems to have been rebuilt as a much larger temple with an image of the fierce demon-slaying goddess Durga-Mahisamardini late in the twelfth century (circa 1178 C.E.) and converted in part to Jain use, then or at a slightly later date.<sup>12</sup> Through all of these transformations, the local goddess, Sacciya, was identified with whichever image was in the sanctum, regardless of its changing iconography or form. Contemporary inscriptions as well as a much later text, the *Pattavali of the Upakesa-Gaccha*, can give us some layered (if also veiled) information on these periods of temple use and reformulation (Bhandarkar 1910; Hoernle 1890; Nahar 1918).

Both temples have been the focus of considerable patronage by a variety of communities in the last thirty years, leading to their restoration, expansion, rebuilding and, to some degree, to a transformation of their roles. Whether this has led to a change in the "cultural" rather than "social" functions (Babb, this volume) of these two temples depends in part on the



viewpoints of both those who participate and those who analyze them. 13

"Sweetmeats or Corpses?", my essay's title, refers to the story of Sacciyamata's conversion from one ritual community to another, as reported both in inscriptions and in the "Osiya legend," and to the sounds of her "crunching" first on corpses then on sweetmeats heard throughout Osiya's village in both Brahmanical and Jain myths (Hoernle 1890, 237-38).<sup>14</sup>

As an art historian, I would argue that the courses of renovation and expansion in these two temple compounds are integral to our understanding of these structures as social and ritual as well as archaeological monuments not simply a matter of chronology and also that the renovations of recent decades are of an importance equal to the archaeological layering of earlier periods.

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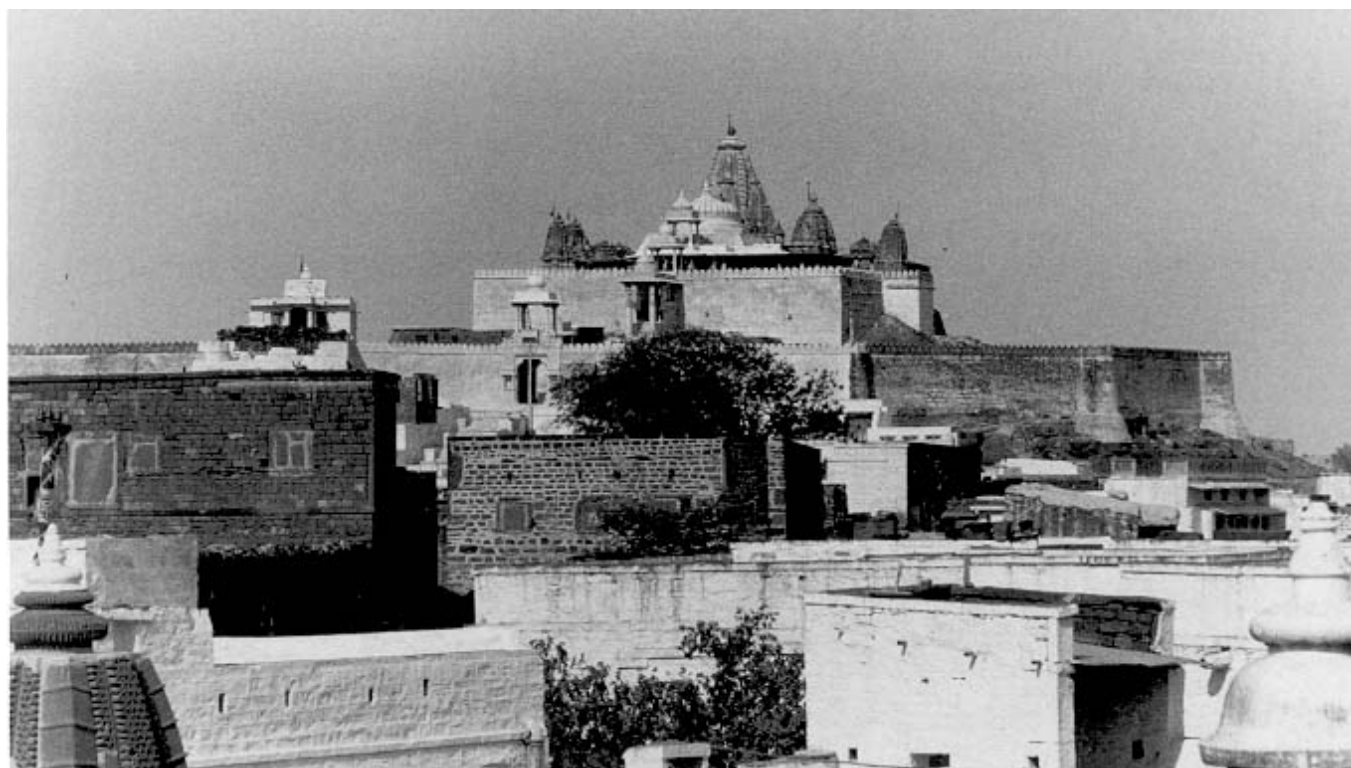


Figure 7.1.  
Osiya, Sacciyamata temple complex in 1972. Seen from the Mahavira temple compound. Photograph © 1998 by Michael W. Meister.

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## The Sacciyamata Temple Complex

M. A. Dhaky (1967) was the first to postulate an eighth-century temple dedicated to an image of a benevolent form of the Goddess, Ksemankarion the hill at Osiya, of which only the shrine image has survived (Meister and Dhaky 1991, p. 311).<sup>15</sup> Dhaky bases his identification of this form of the Goddess on a description of the Nava-Durgas in the *Aparajitaprccha* (1967, 67) as well as on other early surviving images. His speculation that this was "the original Saccika Devi of the Pratihara age" (*ibid.*, 67) must be set against an inscribed image of the fierce active goddess, Mahisasuramardini, from Juna dated 1181 C.E. (V.S. 1237) (Agrawala 1954), and an image in a San Francisco collection dated 1179 C.E. (V.S. 1236) (Bhattacharya 1992), which for the first time clearly identify Sacciyamata with a fierce rather than pacific form of the Goddess Durga (Dhaky 1967, 64).

An inscription of 1178 C.E. (V.S. 1234), is important because it gives us a date for the replacement of the older

Ksemankari shrine by the sanctum and superstructure of the present Durga temple. It is located on the west wall next to an image of Durga as slayer of the demon, Mahisa; two other fierce goddesses, Sitala and Camunda, fill corresponding central niches on the north and south walls of the sanctum (Dhaky 1967, 66). This inscription refers to the wall-frieze of the "*Sri Saccikadevi-prasada*" as ornamented with five *pratima* (visible-image) forms of the Goddess. These are, as cited in the inscription: "Candika, Sitala, Saccikadevi, Ksemankari, and Ksetrapala" (Handa 1984, 222). The present cult image placed in the sanctum takes the form of Durga-Mahisasuramardini. Subsidiary Mahisasuramardini images had also occurred on the walls of many of the other Saura and Vaisnava shrines at Osiañ in the eighth and ninth centuries (Meister and Dhaky 1991) (figure 7.6).

Also representing the first phase of architectural construction on the Sacciyamata hill is the entry hall and small rebuilt Satyanarayana temple located to the northwest of the present Sacciyamata temple-complex on the hill's western scarp (Meister 1983; Meister and Dhaky 1991, 128-32). These two early structures are, in fact, slightly out of alignment with the east-west axis of the later complex and may represent an earlier approach to the hill.

Contemporary with the now missing eighth-century Ksemankari temple and standing just south of the present Sacciyamata temple's sanctum is a shrine dedicated to the sun-god Surya (Meister and Dhaky 1991, 132-37) based on his image placed in the central niche of its back wall (figure 7.2). Other images on the walls of this shrine, however, suggest a Saiva connotation, and Siva perhaps would have been the more appropriate cosmic occupant, paired with the Goddess, for a set of eighth-century shrines.<sup>16</sup> The shrine is ecumenical, with Saiva images on its north wall, Ganesa on the central wall projection (*bhadra*) on the south, and the Jain Suparsvanatha flanking Surya on the west. The ceiling of the entry pavilion is marked by the entwined bodies of snakes (*nagas*) and is ringed by Krsna-lila scenes, with images of Balarama and Krsna over the large guardian figures (*dvarapalas*) flanking the door (Meister 1973).<sup>17</sup>



Figure 7.2.  
Osiañ Surya temple to south of Sacciyamata temple's  
main shrine. Ca. early eighth century C.E. The tower  
was restored in the early twentieth century.  
Photograph © 1998 by Michael W. Meister.

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Dhaky (1967) in his scholarship has presented a clear verbal reconstruction of the Sacciyamata temple's complex as it existed in the early 1960s, with the west-facing Surya shrine embedded in the larger temple's mirrored hall, the eighth-century Ksemankari image lying loose by its side (figure 7.5) 18 He also has outlined several intermediate phases of enlargement and rebuilding that added a late tenth-century north-facing Vaisnava subshrine attached to the south of the present pillared hall and two south-facing Vaisnava subshrines of the eleventh century on the north, the placement of which would indicate an earlier main sanctum located where the twelfth-century Sacciyamata shrine now stands. (All of these subsidiary shrines thus preceded the construction of the present main shrine.)19

Dhaky (1967, 67), by his association of these Vaisnava subshrines with an earlier main shrine, first questioned whether the original temple could have been Vaisnava, and the Goddess worshipped not Sacciyamata but "Durga as a Vaisnava

sakti." He concluded, however, primarily on the basis of the surviving eighth-century Ksemankari image, that the original Sacciya-mata temple was a Ksemankari shrine, replaced by the present Mahisamardini sanctum in 1178 C.E.: "Why could it not be the cult image, the original Saccika Devi of the Pratihara Age . . . ?"

# Ethnography and Conversion

Archaeology provides a frame but not the canvas for an exploration of patterns of social conversion and ritual culture at Osiañ. Written sources provide color and detail. Ethnographic observations (or at least their few recorded fragments) help define the ground (Meister 1995). Yet, it is discrepancies in these sources that help make the picture whole.

Bhandarkar (1907, 36) was the first to report what he identified as a Brahmanical tradition that Osiañ (in this source founded under the name Melpur Pattan) was abandoned and repopled after a period of devastation by a Paramara prince who took refuge (*osla*, here claimed as the etymology for Osa-nagari, i.e. Osiañ) under "the Pratihara rulers of Marwar": "It was this Uppaldev who built the temple of Sachiya *mata*." According to Bhandarkar's field information in 1907, this goddess at Osiañ was then considered "the tutelary goddess of the Samkhla Paramaras."

According to the *Pattavali* (List of Pontiffs) of the *Upakesa-Gaccha* (trans. Hoernle 1890, 233), on the other hand, the founding of Osiañ and of its "ancient Jain temple with a miraculous figure of Mahavira"<sup>20</sup> was attributed instead to a person named Uhada, who "migrated from a place called "Bhinmal" with a large following of Jain relatives and friends" (Hoernle 1890, 233-34). In the story that follows, conversion of the Brahmanical population is associated with the arrival of a Jain sage, Ratnaprabhasuri, with five hundred followers. These, the text says (*ibid.*, 236),

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stayed for a month in the wilderness, and wandered about in the exercise of their calling . . . but did not obtain any alms, for the people who lived there were unbelievers.

The description of this conversion seems to me particularly significant for any decoding of the multiple histories of the Sacciya-mata temple and its monuments. According to its translator (Hoernle 1890):

At another time Ratnaprabha-Suri returned to that place, when he was advised by his tutelary goddess (*sasanadevi*) to stay four months, after which he would be successful.

Uhada's young son, bitten by a snake, was pronounced dead, then brought back to life by Ratnaprabha. (Brahmanical sources attribute this to a Jain ruse [Bhandarkar 1909, 100; Dhaky 1967, 63-64])<sup>21</sup> Uhada, then, according to A. F. Rudolf Hoernle (1890, 236):

Placed before the *Guru* a large quantity of gems, pearls, gold, cloths and other things, and asked him to accept them. But the *Guru* said that he had no need of them, and exhorted the *Seth* to adopt the Jain religion, which already numbered one *lakh* and a quarter (125,000) adherents.<sup>22</sup>

In response, according to the text,

At first the *Seth* began to build a magnificent temple *for Narayana* [*Italics mine*]; but what he built in the day, fell in the night. He questioned all the people who saw it; but none was able to suggest a remedy. Then he asked the *Acharya* Ratnaprabha the reason why his temple fell down every night. The *Guru* enquired, in whose name he was building it. The *Seth* replied, in the name of Narayana. The *Guru* said, "that will not do; make it in the name of Mahavira; then you will succeed."<sup>23</sup>

Only after Uhada had begun to build such a temple did Ratnaprabha's "tutelary goddess"<sup>24</sup> tell him that (*ibid.*, 236):

[s]he had begun to make an image of Mahavira, worthy of that magnificent building, on the hill called after the salt-lake, towards the north of the temple.

This seems a particularly ambiguous statement, given the geography of present-day Osiañ. The Mahavira temple (figure 7-3), set on the plain, has the Sacciya-mata

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temple on a hill to its north. Does the text suggest that the image should be worthy of the "magnificent building, on the hill," that is, the Sacciyamata (Ksemankari) temple north of the newly constructed eighth-century Mahavira temple?

It should be clear from this description, however, that Ratnaprabha's own Jain guardian goddess (*sasanadevi*) was by no means the same goddess as Osiañ's Sacciyadevi (nor that all Osiañ's residents of Osiañ had yet become Jains). After the Jain temple's magical consecration, in fact, during which Ratnaprabha was said to have been in two places at the same time, only "*some* [*Italics mine*] of the relatives of the *Seth* were converted from their unbelief to the profession of a *Sravaka* [Jain]. *Then* [*Italics mine*] they were made to adopt the true faith (*samyaktva*) by the *Acharya*" (ibid., 237). Only *then* does he say to them:

O ye faithful, ye should not go to the temple of Sachchikadevi [Sacciyamata]; she is merciless, and incessantly delights in hearing the sound of the breaking bones and the killing of buffalos, goats, and other animals; the floor of her temple is stained with blood, and it is hung about with festoons of fresh skins; the teachers of her devotion, rites, and service are cruel men; she is altogether disgusting and horrible.

If these two Goddesses—the *guru's* guardian goddess (*sasanadevi*) and the temple's Great Goddess, given the local name of Sacciyamata—are not the same, <sup>25</sup> it also seems clear that the two temples—that on the hill or Sacciyamata and the new one on the plain being built to Mahavira—are also not the same, but have, in this account, become somewhat intermixed.

### The Mahavira Temple Compound

The Mahavira Jain temple at Osiañ (figures 7.3-7.4) is not on a hill, in fact, but located to the west and south of the Sacciyamata temple on the plain of the desert. It faces north, is set on a high basement, and was originally approached through a covered stairway pavilion (*valanaka* or *nal mandapa*). This entry was renovated in the tenth century when a subshrine was added on the west; in the thirteenth century when a large ornamented ceiling was added over the stairway; and then late in this century when the hall was completely reformed.<sup>26</sup>

A long inscription (*prasasti*), dated 956 C.E. (V.S. 1013), is set into a niche on the north wall in this *valanaka*. This inscription records that the father of a man named Jindaka had made additions to the entry hall; that his wife, a follower of Jainism, had also made a contribution; and that Jindaka himself, on behalf of the temple committee, had been responsible for adding a small shrine (*jinadeva-dhama*) during this important period of reformulation (Handa 1984, 217-18).<sup>27</sup>



Figure 7.3.  
Osiañ, Mahavira temple in 1972. Ca. late eighth century. Tower  
rebuilt ca. fifteenth century C.E. Photograph © 1998 by Michael W. Meister.

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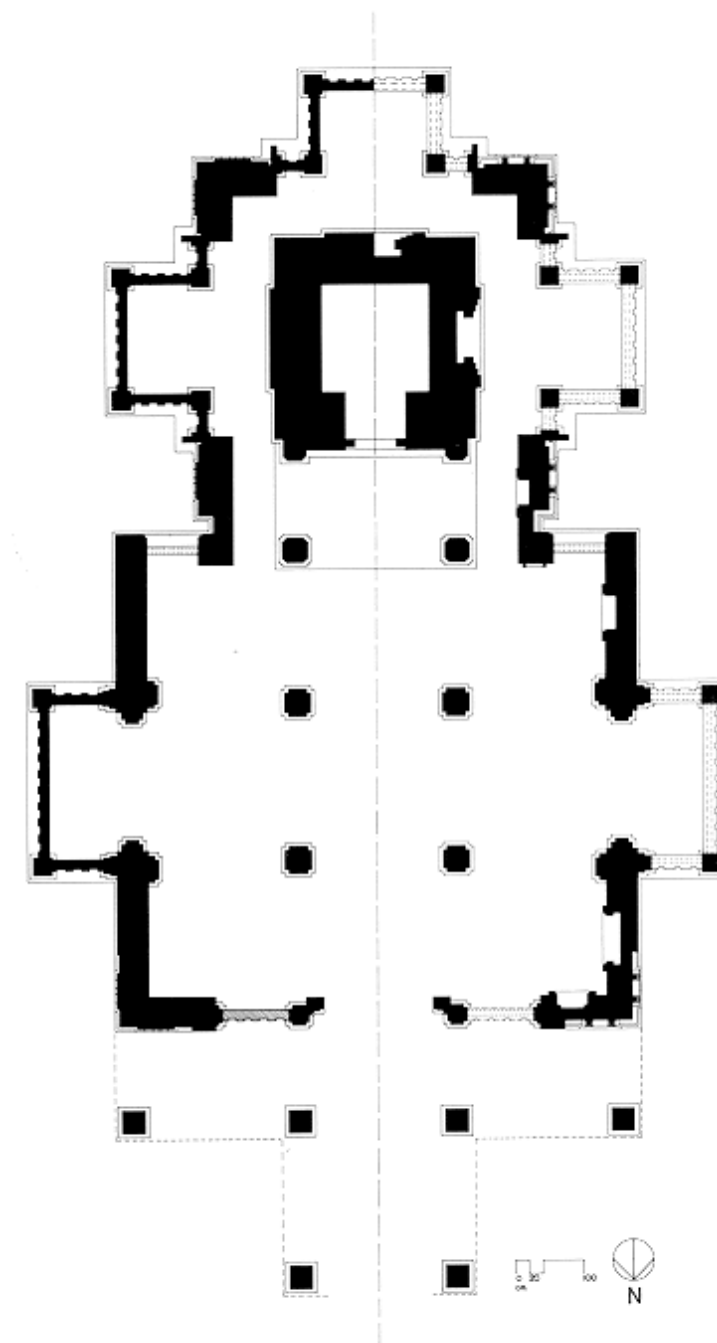


Figure 7.4.  
Osiañ, Mahavira temple. Restored plan  
© 1998 by Michael W. Meister.

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Because of this inscription's reference to Osiañ's existence in the time of Vatsaraja Pratihara, archaeologists have tended to use it to date all of the early group of temples at Osiañ, and particularly the Mahavira temple, to the late eighth century (Bhandarkar 1909; Dhaky 1968). Many later Jain sources, however, have instead attributed the founding of the present temple to the tenth century, the date of this *prasasti* and of the renovations that it records. 28 In the past twenty years, this same entry pavilion has been substantially dismantled, then reconfigured and rebuilt using new as well as old materials. Eighth-century pillars taken from the front of this hall have been reutilized to enlarge the fronting aisle (*mukhalinda*) of the main temple, making it into a much larger open hall.29 Modern craftsmen (at a cost of circa Rs. 8,000 per pillar in 1989) have copied new columns from the style of the older ones (using photographs to make stencils). These have then

been installed both to reshape the *valanaka* as well as to extend the hall for the main temple.<sup>30</sup>

If Dhaky (1968) can demonstrate that there were several archaeological layers to the "refreshening" of this temple in ancient times, to approach the reasonings behind such reshaping in any period then we benefit by turning to contemporary ethnography. John E. Cort (1991, 215, note 5), for example, has reported on a recent renovation (*jirnoddhar*) of a Jain temple in Patan,

Feelings about the renovation were mixed. Most people agreed that the new, spacious, marble structure will lack some of the *bhav* of the old temple. But renovating a temple is a highly meritorious deed, and people admired the spirit of devotion which motivated the man who organized, and in part paid for, the renovation. . . . Everyone admitted that the existing structure was in need of extensive repairs, and not to have repaired the temple would have been an *asatna* [moral fault].

I would hypothesize that very little may have changed in these aspects of the ritual culture of Jain donors since the time of Jindaka and of his family's renovations of the Mahavira temple at Osiañ in the tenth century C.E.

An elaborately ornamented gateway (*torana*) was added in front of the main temple's entry stair in 1018 C.E. (V.S. 1075).<sup>31</sup> (This has been moved recently to the side of the compound in order to accommodate the vast enlargement of the temple's pillared hall.) Several elegant subshrines on the east and west were added at the same time as well as in the next century (Dhaky 1968, 319-23). Inscriptions in the compound show that continuing activity occurred through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the present superstructure for the main shrine was first constructed (Handa, 220-27).<sup>32</sup> An inscription dated 1188 C.E. (V.S. 1245) (only a decade after the rebuilding of the Sacciya-mata temple's main sanctum) on a pillar behind the Sacciya-mata temple's fortress wall refers to a shed

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to which one Yasodhara made a gift for housing Mahavira's golden chariot (Handa 1984, 223-24).

Each of these archaeological intercessions can be seen as a trace of a ritual culture working itself out in real time. That these past remediations are difficult to unpack is as much due to limited perspectives as to limited sources.

Accounts in the *Pattavali* of the Upakesa-Gaccha

In this regard, what can we make of the references in the *Pattavali of the Upakesa-Gaccha* to the building of a temple to the Tirthankara Mahavira at Osiañ? The text involved was first published in an abridged translation by Rudolf Hoernle in 1890. Of the historical applicability of this text (or what he perceived as its lack of one) the Jainologist Walter Schubring (1962, 68) states:

The fabulous *patt'avali* of this Gaccha probably written in the 2nd half of the 7th century, proves as an exception to the rule that these chronicles are mines of reliable dates regarding the history of Jain Orders and writings.

Such a text, however, can preserve appropriations, reappropriations, and reformulations as complex as those found in the monuments themselves. <sup>33</sup> It provides a series of embedded clues to significant periods of transformation in the Jain community's perception of its monuments as well as a fantastic and fabulistic account of Osiañ's origin.

The Mahavira temple that stands dates both much later than the text's claim that Ratnaprabha "consecrated it in the 70th year after Mahavira's death" (Hoernle 1890, 234), and several centuries earlier than the historical dates for Ratnaprabha, who probably was active in the twelfth century (Dhaky 1967, 68).<sup>34</sup>

First, this seventeenth-century text tells an interesting story about the sanctum image repeated in other sources that relates in an interesting way to the present image (Hoernle 1890, 236-37; Handa 1984, plate 136). Today, the image is said to be made of clay and milk.<sup>35</sup> In the *Pattavali* (Hoernle, 237), Uhada

learned from the talk of the cowherds that at the place [where Ratnaprabha-Suri's *sasanadevi* was preparing the image] there was something that caused the cows to drop their milk. . . . [He], being impatient to see it, dug it up a few days earlier, when an image of the size of a lime with two nipples on its breast was found. The *Acharya* said that it was still not quite finished, and advised him to wait [for its installation]; but the *Seth* replied that the touch of the *Guru's* hand would complete it. <sup>36</sup>



The present image does indeed have knobs in odd places (Handa 1984, plate 136) as nipples, at the throat and heart, and on shoulders and knees that can best be explained by reference to contemporary ritual (Meister 1995, 130, fig. 14). Cort (1991, 218) describes the beginning of the "eightfold *puja*" in the following way:

After carefully cleaning the image, [the worshipper] bathes it with water and milk, and then dresses it. . . . Using the ring finger of his right hand, he performs the nine-limbed sandalwood-saffron *puja* to the *mul-nayak*, dabbing the sandal-wood-saffron paste onto the (1) two big toes (2) two knees [etc.]. . . . Many images have small silver knobs at these thirteen places, so the worshipper will not in any way damage the actual image.

The *Pattavali of the Upakesa-Gaccha* (Hoernle 1890, 237) records that Ratnaprabhasuri, following his installation of the found (*svayambhu*) image, taught Uhada

the rules of the whole course of daily worship of the image of Mahavira which was in Upakesapura; how to bathe it, and adore it, and so forth.

In speaking of later *acaryas* in the lineage, however, it also tells a different tale about "the rites connected with the bathing of Svayambhu-Mahavira, and when and why they were instituted" (ibid., 238):

At that very time, a festival which lasted eight days was held by the people in the temple. Among them were some young men to whom the evil thought suggested itself, that, as the two knobs on the breast of the blessed Mahavira were only an eyesore to the worshippers, there could be no harm in removing them. . . . The old people tried to dissuade them. . . . But they disregarded the old men's advice and bribed a carpenter to cut away the two knobs.

As might be expected, there were dire consequences to such an act:

At that very instant the carpenter died, and from the place where the two knobs had been cut away, there issued untold streams of blood. Great distress befell the people.

Other communities of Jains have told tales of decline, as at Bhinmal, attempting to use a mythic past to explain conditions of the present. The absence of

Jains in Osiañ that pilgrims should not stay the night is rooted by the myth. Here it is hard to believe, as a westerner, who has read both Freud and Wendy Doniger (O'Flaherty 1981), that stories of milk and blood do not also have to do with psychological issues of conception and birth (that is, with the origin of the community as well as its decline).

After Kakkasuri, the then living *guru* of the Upakesa-Gaccha, had fasted for three days, according to the *Pattavali*, his *sasanadevi* (not said to be Sacciyamata) 37 appeared (ibid., 238-39) and

told him that the young *Sravakas* had committed an outrage in mutilating the image and depriving it of its round parts (*kala*).

As a result of this act, she asserted (ibid., 239)

the town of Upakesa would gradually become deserted, a schism would arise in the *gachchha* and quarrels among the *Sravakas*, and the guilds would be disbursed in all directions.

To stop the blood, she demanded that all the *gotras* (lineages of Jains) gather, fast for three days, and then bathe the image of Mahavira in butter, curds, sugarcane juice, milk, and water.

These descriptions of one Jain community's origination and disbursal from Osiañ in a seventeenth-century *Pattavali* might support the passive/violent dichotomy of Hindu/Jain relationships proposed by Lawrence A. Babb (1993, 8) in the conversion myths of Jains he found in Rajasthan:

In this sense, Rajputs and Jains are fundamentally "other" to each other. But, at the same time, there is a point at which Rajput and Jain identity merge, at least from the Jain perspective.

This may also seem most clear in the merging of what John E. Cort (1987, 249), following A. K. Ramanujan, calls "Breast" and "Tooth" Mothers in the story of Sacciyamata's conversion.

## Sacciyamata's Conversion

I have used my own observations and interviews over the past thirty years; those of D. R. Bhandarkar (1907, 1909) who, as an archaeologist, visited Osian early in this century; those of M. A. Dhaky (1968), who visited in the 1950s; and those of my colleagues John E. Cort (1987; 1988; 1991), and Lawrence A. Babb (1993) in recent years, to form an ethnographic frame for changes in the Jain community's perceptions of, and relationship to, the Osiañ monuments in this

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century. Bhandarkar (1907, 36), for example, had recorded Brahmanical rather than Jain versions of the "Osia legend" early in this century, at a time when no Jains were living in Osiañ. He reported that Sacciyamata was thought to be the "tutelary goddess of the [Hindu] Samkhla Paramaras." Dhaky (1967, 63), in the 1950s, found that "Oswal Jains of Saurashtra [in the neighboring western Indian state of Gujarat] have lost [all] memory of the goddess at Osia." Babb (1993), in the early 1990s, found lay Jains in Jaipur turning increasingly to Sacciya Devi as a clan goddess in order to reinforce the Rajput nature of their community's conversion to Jainism centuries before.

The form of Sacciyamata as Ksemankari, the original cult goddess on the Sacciyamata hill, represented the great Hindu Goddess, Durga, in a transcendent and beatific mode, comparable in the passivity (and power) of her presentation to that of a Jain sage (figure 7.5). In its telling of the legend of Sacciyamata's conversion, the *Pattavali of the Upakesa-Gaccha* (Hoernle 1890, 238) records:

The Devi entered the body of a maiden who was standing near, and thence replied, "O Lord, I wanted one sort of thing to crunch and munch, but you have given me another sort." [Ratnaprabha] said that what she wanted was an animal sacrifice, but that it was neither proper for him to give, nor for her to take it. He then gave some further religious instruction, the result of which was that Sachchika-devi [Sacciyamata], who was still in the body of the maiden, was converted, in the presence of all the people who were there, becoming a follower (*bhakta*) of Mahavira in the city of Upakesa, and a believer in the true faith; so much so that, letting alone flesh, *she could not even bear the sight of a red flower* [Italics mine].

In this account, the Goddess seems to have become a *satimata*, herself the sacrifice, now capable of offering protective services as does a *kuldevi* (ibid., 238). 38

The Goddess (*sati*), by the mouth of the maiden in whose body she had entered, now said to her followers, "Listen; whoever of you shall worship the image of Svayambhu-Mahavira which is set up in the city of Upakesa, and shall follow the *Acharya* Ratnaprabha, and shall serve his disciples and the disciples of his disciples, with him I shall be well pleased, his evils shall I remove, and his worship I shall heartily accept." In consequence of these words of Sachchhika-devi, spoken by the maiden in whose body she had entered, a large number of people, in the course of time, adopted the profession of *Sravakas*.

If "the serene, supple bodied goddess" Ksemankari (Dhaky 1967, 67) perhaps the fair maiden in this story? could, by her own conversion to Jainism, have

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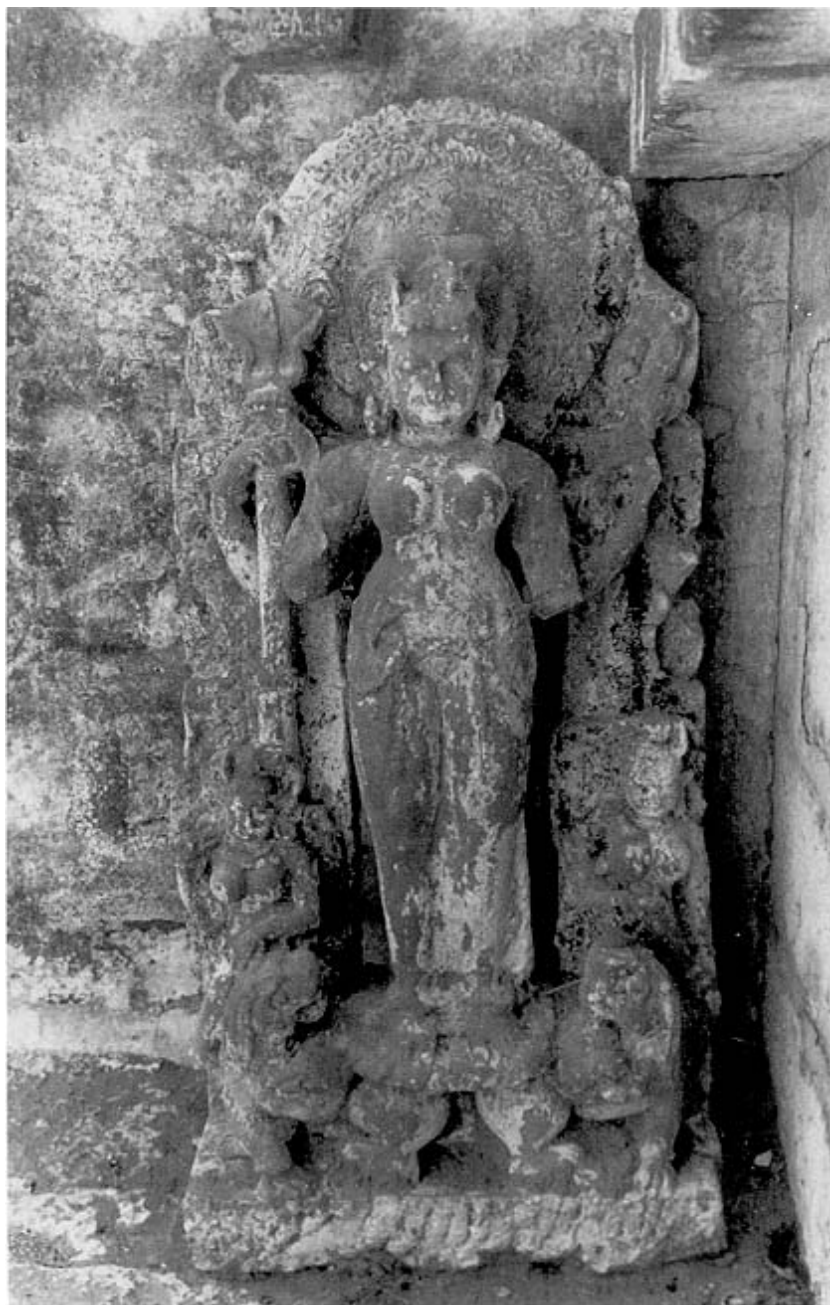


Figure 7.5.  
 Osiañ, Sacciyamata image in the form of Ksemankari  
 in the Sacciyamata compound. Ca. early eighth century  
 C.E. Photograph © 1998 by Michael W. Meister.



Figure 7.6.  
Osiañ, Durga-Mahisasuramardini image on the  
north wall of the Surya temple no. 2. Ca. mid-eighth  
century C.E. Photograph © 1998 by Michael W. Meister.

won back to herself those of her Hindu worshippers, who had also been converted, what role was there for changing the cult image to a fierce, active form for Sacciya? Why was Ksemankari's temple rebuilt in 1178 C.E. with an image of Durga as the slayer of the demon Mahisa replaced in its sanctum? Had Jainism chosen to give up a passive role for the Goddess (*vide* Vac, the goddess of speech; Meister 1976), to counterbalance the Brahmanical Durga's fiercer aspects?

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### Sacciya's Challenge

When Ratnaprabha urged Uhada's relatives to refrain from the blood and gore of Sacciya's temple (Hoernle 1890, 237), they replied: "What you say, O Lord, is quite true; but if we do not go to worship that cruel Devi, she will slay us and her families." 39 The Goddess then challenged Ratnaprabha's theft of her followers, pricking his eyebrow, but he "resolutely replied that he would repay her the injury by his own power." Frightened, she "humbly said to him:"

It is not seemly, O lord, for great sages, like yourself, to dispute and quarrel; if you will give me something to crunch and munch, I will remove your pain and be your servant, as long as the sun and moon endure.

The *acarya* then went to her temple early in the morning with "two heaps of various kinds of cakes and sweetmeats, together with camphor, saffron, and other nice things" (*ibid.*, 238):



Then having made worship apart from the *Sravakas*, and crushing a quantity of cake with both his hands . . . he said to the Devi, "I have given you something to crunch and munch, henceforth you must be a follower (*upasaka*) of me."

This defanging of the goddess, her conversion from *agora* to *sattvikarequires*, it seems to me, that her "ambiguous duality"<sup>40</sup> be preserved. Sacciyamata is both Jain and not Jain, Breast Mother and Tooth Mother. Dhaky (1967, 69) has pointed out that an image of Mahisamardini from the site of Juna, dated 1181 C.E. (V.S. 1237), for the first time labels this fierce form of Durga with the name "Saccika," and that this image was the donation of a Jain nun. Sacciyamata's fierce rededication to nonviolence (*ahimsa*) can also be attested by an inscription of 1598 C.E. (V.S. 1655) that refers to Ratnaprabhasuri's conversion of Camunda (an even fiercer form of Durga) to the Jain goddess, Sacciya (Reu 1948:10).<sup>41</sup>

## Community Conversion

Although many Jain sources repeat the claim that Ratnaprabhasuri consecrated the temple of Mahavira "seventy years after Mahavira's death" (Hoernle 1890, 234); Dhaky (1967, 68) must be closer to historical reality in stating:

There is no point in attaching a very early date to Ratnaprabhasuri. [The] one prominent figure of that name . . . flourished in the twelfth century.

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What this must mean is that the settlement of some Jains in Osiañ from Bhinmal and their establishment of the Mahavira temple in the eighth century had little historically to do with the conversion of Sacciyamata on the hill to vegetarianism. Yet, their stories have been conflated in ways meant to reinforce changing meanings in the nature of Jain identity. Dhaky (ibid., 68), referring to the rise of Solanki patronage of Jainism in the twelfth century, concluded:

It is not easy to tell whether Ratnaprabhasuri invoked the temporal power or used [his own] persuasive means to stop the sacrifices at the altar of Sacciya.

He points out that the Solanki ruler Kumarapala had, in the twelfth century,

stopped the animal sacrifices at the altar of Devi Kantesvari whose shrine was founded in the eighth century at Anhilapataka . . . and who was the kulamba [lineage goddess] of the Capotkatas and subsequently of the Solankis of Gujarat.

Handa (1984, 47) has suggested that the Mahavira temple at Osiañ originally was dedicated to Parsvanatha in the eighth century, then rededicated to Mahavira, perhaps at the time of the structure's renovation in the tenth century.<sup>42</sup> All that is certain is that the structure was both renovated and expanded in the late tenth to eleventh century at a time when substantial patronage also was being expended on the building of the Vaisnava subshrines for the original Sacciyamata temple.

Brahmanas were still worshipping in the Sacciyamata temple late in the twelfth century, after the rebuilding of its main sanctum in 1178 C.E., as attested by an inscription on a pillar in the *mandapa* dated V.S. 1247 (circa 1190 C.E.) (ibid., 224) and by other inscriptions (Bhandarkar 1909, 110). And one should not forget that in "the Osiya myth" presented by the *Pattavali of the Upakesa-Gaccha*, Uhada first attempted to build a temple to Visnu in the form of Narayana (Hoernle 1890, 236), not a Jain shrine.

The epigraphic section of the Archaeological Survey of India *Annual Report* for 1921-22 (1924, 119) reports on a series of inscriptions at Osiañ, which date from V.S. 1135 to 1524 (circa 1079-1468 C.E.), found on the backs of brass images from Jain temples:

They mention the names of donees, the year of gift and the names of Jain teachers who performed the consecration ceremonies. Various castes including the Balahi [*sic*] are also mentioned. As Mr. Ojha says that the Baladis are at present an untouchable caste among Hindus, the mention of the name as

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a class in the Ukesa caste is proof of the story of the wholesale conversion of the town of Osiañ (Ukesa) to Jainism.

The *Pattavali of the Upakesa-Gaccha* itself would seem to suggest, not so much the mass conversion of Osiañ's population to Jainism as its gradual conversion and initiation into Jain practices and rituals. The placid goddess Ksemankari may have seemed too little "other" that is, too lacking in the fierce qualities of Durga that were in need of changing to emphasize this process. Camunda and Mahisamardini better could represent the local goddess, Sacciya-devi, who gave up corpses for sweetmeats (as illustrated by the Junaimage given by a Jain nun dated 1181).<sup>43</sup> Whether the temple's major rebuilding in 1178 C.E. and its rededication to an image of Durga slaying Mahisabuti given the name of Sacciya as at Junawas then meant in part to serve Jain purposes is unclear, yet through "the Osia myth" of Sacciya's conversion from meat to sweetmeats, this image could still make the temple available to both communities. Only a decade later the wife of Yasodhara, according to the inscription, would provide a shed on the Sacciya-mata hill for Mahavira's chariot (Bhandarkar 1909, 110).

Lawrence A. Babb (in this volume) makes clear a triangular relationship in the ritual culture of Jains that anticipates the geographic relationship of the Mahavira and Sacciya-mata temples at Osiañ for pilgrims (as well as, in part, the need for Sacciya-mata's accommodation to Jainism). In his view, deities are the model worshipers in Jainism; Tirthankaras the nonresponsive focus for worship; and patrons the reflexive recipients through ritual of the deflection of what is unclean. What better exchange than to have the Goddess receive sweetmeats from the Jain sage; become a devotee of the Tirthankara; and her purified temple to act as one ritual focus for Jain pilgrims, who otherwise must model themselves on the *jina* represented in the Mahavira temple?

#### Community Use Today

In his visit in 1907, Bhandarkar was able to record the Brahmanical myth that Ratnaprabha, by faking a snakebite, had forced "the king and his subjects" to embrace Jainism (ibid., 101):

This enraged Sachiya-mata, as she could no longer obtain any living victims. She cursed the people, and defied them to stay there. . . . [The Osvals] had to flee in all directions. But they prayed to the goddess, and propitiated her to the extent of allowing them to present offerings to her after the performance of marriage rites. And no Osval now passes at Osia the night of the day on which he pays homage to the *mata* for fear of being overtaken by some calamity.

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Of the temple, he says (ibid., 109):

It is a sacred place in Marwar, and people from even as far south as Palanpur come here to worship the goddess. It is, however, the Osval Jains, who regard her with particular reverence. They bring their children to the temple for the tonsure ceremony, and invariably present offerings to the goddess after the performance of marriage rites. The worshippers dare not pass the night at Osia after paying their homage to the goddess, for if they do so, they are sure to be overtaken by some calamity or other.<sup>44</sup>

This prohibition certainly no longer seems to be the case. Not only was the Jain Higher Secondary school founded and the Mahavira temple itself restored in the last three-quarters of a century, but the Sacciya-mata temple also has, in the last two decades, increasingly been the recipient of lay Jain support. The present pilgrimage shrine on the hill of Sacciya-mata is still visited by Hindus and Jains, and its trustees are both Jain and Hindu.<sup>45</sup> Since the beginning of this century, its expansion, reformation, and redefinition have not stopped.

Between Bhandarkar's and Dhaky's visits, for example, local craftsmen carefully rebuilt the demolished superstructure of the Surya temple next to the Sacciya-mata temple's sanctum out of ancient pieces (figure 7.2).<sup>46</sup> Colored glass and white marble were used to ornament the sacrificial hall of the Sacciya-mata temple in which "coconuts, fruits, flowers, and sweets; no meat" are now offered by either of the two user communities.<sup>47</sup>

Up to the early 1970s, this temple's ancient compound had stood in splendid isolation on its hill, approached by a long flight of steps on the west, with only a few rooms for pilgrims alongside. In recent years, however, an increasing flood of

Jain pilgrims have come to the temple. The results of their patronage can be seen in the compound's rapid expansion. Nine new Goddess temples are under construction that ring the older structure's compound wall.<sup>48</sup> New facilities for pilgrims increasingly cover the hill, and a series of elegant gateways (*toranas*) now march up the staircase, each with its own set of Jain dedicatory inscriptions (Meister 1995). The changing social as well as ritual nature of this new patronage has yet to be explored.

## Conclusion

What I think we are seeing in recent years is a specific contemporary reclamation of Osian by lay Jain pilgrims. The Mahavira temple, now recognized within the Jain community as western India's oldest *derasar* (Jain shrine), has received substantial institutional support, attention, and funds from the Anandji

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Kalyanji trust in Ahmedabad only for the past twenty years. It now receives as many as twenty thousand Jain visitors a year from all parts of India. Sacciyamata, therefore, it seems to me, has, in relatively recent times, changed from being a local personal goddess (*sasanadevi*), serving a variety of resident communities in Marwar, specifically into the *kul devi* (origination goddess) for certain of the extended communities of Osval Jains. <sup>49</sup> If Bhandarkar (1907, 36; 1909, 100) in 1906 could record only Brahmanic versions of "the Osiya myth" at the site and Sacciyamata was then thought to be the "tutelary goddess" of the Hindu "Samkhla Paramaras," by the 1960s Dhaky (1967, 63) found her instead to be the "patron goddess of the Osval banias who are mostly Jainas." He also, however, noted that at that time "the Oswal Jains of Saurashtra, such as Jamnagar and Prabhas Patan, have lost memory of the Goddess at Osia."

Published lists of sacred sites (*tirthas*) for Jain pilgrimage focus largely, at Osiañ, on the temple of Mahavira, but John E. Cort (1988) reports that the hand-written *Osval Utpatti* says that Ratnaprabhasuri, after enlightening the goddess Camunda Devi, gave her the name "Sacciyayaka Mata" much as the Jain nun who had a sculpture of the fierce form of Durga slaying the demon Mahisa dedicated at Juna had that image inscribed with the name of Sacciya.

The seventeenth-century *Pattavali of the Upakesa-Gaccha* (Hoernle 1890) makes clear, however, that the *sasanadevi*, who assisted Ratnaprabhasuri, was not the Goddess he converted; that converting the Goddess had, in fact, its risks for the community; and that her temple continued to welcome all residents of Osiañ, whether Hindu or Jain. That Vaisnavas and Jains had interacted in a "ritual culture" that made this possible is signaled by the monuments that have, over many centuries, ringed the Sacciyamata hill, and by the ritual life at Osiañ today.

The temple that verified early Osval conversion to Jainism, however, was not that to Sacciyamata, but that for the *svayumbhu* image of Mahavira created, according to the *Pattavali of the Upakesa-Gaccha*, by Ratnaprabhasuri's personal *sasanadevi*. Yet first built in the eighth century C.E. and then renovated or refounded in 956 C.E. the real existence of this temple must demonstrate a strong Jain presence in Osiañ many years before Ratnaprabha's time. It may thus, indeed, have been the re-formulation of Sacciya's temple, not the building of the Mahavira temple, from one with an image of a placid Ksemankari to one of the fierce form of Durga-Mahisamardini (yet by doing so from meat-eater to a cruncher of sweets) that Ratnaprabhasuri precipitated on his arrival at Osiañ in the twelfth century.<sup>50</sup> If so, his reimagining of ritual culture at Osiañ was one across open boundaries, not closed ones.

Recent lay patronage at Osiañ of the Sacciyamata temple also fits well into the reimagining of present-day Rajput Jains in Jaipur recorded by Lawrence A. Babb (1993). The local warrior Goddess, Sacciya, as slayer of demons, suits the need to define a "proper" Rajput *kul-devi* origin (Harlan 1992, 52-90) for at least one lay Jain community.<sup>51</sup> Such an interpretation, as at all periods in Osiañ's past, however, also represents nonlinearity of use and of interpretation that is, the lack of

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a single way to tell the story inherent both in history and in scholarship. Contested and multivalent as history may be, it would be unwise to conclude that a modern community's assertion of its origin need reflect documentable history more than its longing for an "embedded" past. As Romila Thapar (1986, 354-55) states:

Each version of the past which has been deliberately transmitted has a significance for the present, and this accounts for its legitimacy and its continuity. The record may be one in which historical consciousness is embedded: myth epic and genealogy; or alternatively it may refer to the more externalized forms: chronicles etc.]. . . There is no evolutionary or determined continuum from one form to the other and facets of the embedded consciousness can be seen as part of the latter, whether introduced deliberately or subconsciously.

Jains, HindusIndiansshare porous boundaries. Brahman *pujaris* hereditarily serve in the Mahavira and other Jain temples; Jain pilgrims patronize the Sacciyamata-temple's many shrines; but Vaisnavas and other Hindu communities still worship there. One temple demonstrates no greater fluidity than the other. Both seem able to serve a deeper ritual culture that Babb (this volume) can characterize as "neither Hindu nor Jain" but "simply South Asian." Local Muslim and Hindu craftsmen continue to carry out renovations on these temples; those on the Mahavira Jain temple are now supervised by Sompura Brahmans employed by Jains in Ahmedabad. Such permeability denies no boundaries, only opens them.

## Notes

1. A somewhat more theoretically framed version of this theme has been published in Meister 1995.

2. Of the ritual culture of Jains, Lawrence A. Babb writes in this volume:

This is a ritual culture that . . . at its core is the relationship between worshippers, conceived in a certain way, and a particular kind of object of worship. The fact that the object of worship is an apotheosized ascetic generates much of this ritual culture's distinctive structure and spirit.

3. The copies of the Archaeological Survey of India's Western Circle Annual Reports located in Harvard's Widener library have bound with them copies of Bhandarkar's original sketch plans for the compounds of the Sacciyamata and Mahavira temples.

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4. Bhandarkar (1907, 37) more graphically describes their use as public latrines.

5. Personal communication from the *pujari*, Bhanuprakash Sharma, in 1990.

6. Bhandarkar (1910, 63) records that the *pujaris* in the Jain temples in Medta were "of the *sevak* Brahmana caste," and an inscription of V.S. 1405 ordained that "only those Brahmanas, who were descended from Lokesvara" could serve in the temples of "Parsvanatha and Phalaudhi."

7. Ibid. According to John E. Cort, this same family has served the temple for the past three generations, or ca. 100 years.

8. Cort, 1988.

9. M. A. Dhaky travelled to the Osian temples early in the 1960s and left a record of his estimate of the importance of the Mahavira temple as well as a plea for more attention to its conservation in the visitor's book at the entrance to the Jain school.

10. Cort (1988) records that "money for *jirnoddhar*" at the Mahavira temple in 1987 was "coming from Anandji Kalyanji." The present *pujari* reports also on Kasturbhai Lalbhai's involvement in the restoration of the temple begun twenty years ago and of Kasturbhai's son Shrenikbhai today. Cort reports, however, that no money for the expansion of the Sacciyamata temple had come from the Anandji Kalyanji trust but rather some "money from individual Jains."

11. M. C. Joshi (1994, 206) questions Dhaky's identification of Ksemankari and sees the form of this goddess as associated with the Hellenic and Hellenistic warrior-goddess Cybele.

12. Handa (1984, 224), in reference to an inscription of V.S. 1246 Magha (circa C.E. 1190), states, "it seems that in the thirteenth century and later, the myths about the en *masse* conversion of people to Jainism were evolved."

13. Lawrence A. Babb (in this volume) points out that the deities "are Jainism's paradigmatic worshippers." The focus of worship, however, must be "a Tirthankar or one who is like a Tirthankar" and the relationship of patron to ritual is both "displaced" and "reflexive."



14. Hoernle (1890, 237, and note 23), translates *kadadamadada* as "something to crunch and munch" and refers also to Gujarati *kad'kad'vum*, "to crack."
15. Initially lying as a loose image in the temple compound on the southwest next to the *jagati* of the Surya subshrine (Dhaky 1967), this image has now been "enshrined" in a locked cage in the southeast corner of the Sacciyamata temple's large *mandapa*.
16. A similar set of paired shrines, with Siva and the Goddess, exists at Menal in eastern Rajasthan (Meister and Dhaky 1991, 277-83).
17. A similar ecumenism is shown by the superstructure of the Sri Satyanarayana temple (Meister and Dhaky 1991, 128-32).

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18. He misses the presence of the Sri Satyanarana shrine and gateway but does record a number of eighth-century sculptural fragments within the Sacciyamata compound, and documents the inscription of 1178 C.E. that can date the construction of the present main structure.
19. An inscription of V.S. 1247 (circa 1190 C.E.) in the enlarged pillared hall records that "*brahmanas* continued to worship her" (Handa 1984, 224). Other inscriptions show that screens were added to the earlier subshrines in V.S. 1421 (circa 1364-65 C.E.) (ibid., 225).
20. Cited in A. F. Rudolf Hoernle from Muni Atmaram-ji's *Ajñāna-timira-bhaskara*, pt. 2, p. 16.
21. O'Flaherty (1981, 26) writes: "Snakes represent death and the underworld, but also rebirth (for they slough their skins and are 'reborn')."
22. Babb (1993, 9) cites Bhutoriya's account instead (1988, 70-71), where the *acarya* "said that he would restore the prince's life only if all the people would accept Jainism. The people agreed, the prince was revived, and 125,000 Rajputs became Jains."
23. Perhaps significantly, most of the eighth-century shrines at Osiañ, as well as the tenth/eleventh-century subshrines in the Sacciyamata complex, are dedicated to Visnu.
24. According to John E. Cort (1988; see also Cort 1987) Jain *sasanadevis* are *yaksis* who preside over "the *sasana* established by each Jina. Since the Upakesa-Gaccha claims to be descended from the *sasana* established by Parsvanatha, the *sasanadevi* would be Padmavati. But nowhere does the text name her."
25. Babb (1993, 9), following a version in Bhutoriya's recent history (1988) says that "Saciya Devi appeared in person and begged [the *acarya*] to teach Jainism to the people." This seems to be a confusion; both it and subsequent details suggest that Bhutoriya's version conflates Brahmanical with Jain sources.
26. A number of inscriptions on pillars in this *nal-mandapa* of V.S. 1231 (circa 1174 C.E.) (Handa 1984, 221-22) can suggest a date for this elaborate ceiling.
27. Handa (1984, 69) speculates that the *devakulika* no. 5 attached to the *nal mandapa* on the east "may have been the '*Jinadeva-dhama*' constructed by Jindaka in A.D. 956."
28. Shah (1953, 173-73, 315-16) says the temple was built in V.S. 1013. Cort, 1988, tells me that the *Osiya Vir Stavan*, written in V.S. 1712, records the *pratistha* of the image in the sanctum in V.S. 1017 and that a handwritten manuscript entitled *Osva Utpatti* records that "Osa vamsa was established in V.S. 1011 at [the] pleasure of Osiya Mata, and in V.S. 1017 [the] temple was built."
29. The decision to open up the *mandapa*, according to the present *pujari*, was made "primarily to help the pilgrims so that their heads wouldn't be hit."
30. This work has been done with the guidance of Bachhubhai Sompura from Ahmedabad, but many craftsmen have been

locally trained and employed. The carving for

pillars and a new *torana*, however, was done in Palitana (Krishan Chandra Sompura, interview with author, Ahmedabad, 21 December 1994).

31. Bhandarkar, Ojha, and Dhaky have given this date; Handa (1984, 219), following Nahar's printed transcription, gives V.S. 1035. The style of the *torana* corresponds better with the former reading.

32. Dhaky (1968, 326) first dated this *sikhara* to the time of the *torana*, but has since changed his mind. Bhandarkar (1909, 108) recorded that "I gathered from the villagers that it was in ruins a hundred years ago, and was rebuilt of the fallen pieces."

33. For "recent theoretical discussions on the relationship between facticity and the principle historical genre of narrative" see Cort (this volume). Schubring (1962, 68, note 4) states that the complete text of the *Pattavali* can be found in Jinavijaya, *Jaina-Sahitya-Samsodhaka* I; "Pattavalisam."

34. Dhaky's article (1967), while insisting that Ratnaprabhasuri "flourished in the twelfth century" adds that "he was not the disciple of the illustrious Hemacandra as Brahmanical legend purports to say, but of Hemacandra's senior contemporary Vadi Deva-suri" who had two works completed "in A.D. 1277 [and] A.D. 1282." (These dates seem a mistyping. Vadidevasuri was active early in the twelfth century.)

35. Cort (1988) cites a *pujari* for this information who also gave the date of the image as "Vir Samvat 72."

36. Such a miraculous origin for a found image has wide currency (Eichinger Ferro-Luzzi 1987), as do other magical tales surrounding the temple (Granoff 1990, 1993).

37. The account of a still later *guru* of the Upakesa-gaccha, Kakkudacarya, (Hoernle 1890, 239-40) does have "Sacyaka" in attendance, when violence is part of the outcome: when a landholder named Somaka mistakenly suspects the *guru* of misbehavior ("capable of indulging in sensual pleasures after the manner of prostitutes"), the Goddess boxes his ears "and he began to vomit blood."

38. See Harlan (1992, 118-20).

39. Schubring (1962, 69-70) refers to traditions from other Gacchas that permit the worship of "Camunda and other local deities."

40. Babb (1993, 13) uses this phrase to characterize the identity of all Rajput-origin Jains.

41. This sixteenth-century inscription is the first to record Ratnaprabha's association with the story of Sacciya's conversion. The importance of the fifteenth-century's "renascent" Hinduism producing also such major Jain temples as the one at Ranakpur needs emphasis (Dhaky 1966).

42. Evidence for this is slim. Handa refers to an image of Parsvanatha dated V.S. 1035 now in the Jodhpur Museum, to Suparsvanatha on a lintel in the *gudhamandapa*, and to the image of Suparsvanath on the northeast corner of the Surya temple next to the Sacciyamata temple.

43. It is also true that many Vaisnava communities had already taken a similar path.

44. Dhaky (1967, 63-64) repeats this story in Bhandarkar's words, but does not confirm whether he found any such prohibition still in place.

45. John E. Cort (1988) reports twelve such trustees and that the *pujaris* are Saryupari Brahmins. An inscription of V.S. 1236 refers to "*Sri Saccika-devi-dvaram Bhojakaih*," of which Handa writes (1984, 223), "the family of Bhojakas

mentioned in the inscription still serves as the priests of the Sachiya, the Mahavira and other temples."

46. Bhandarkar (1910, plate 44b) shows this superstructure in ruins; Dhaky, who took its authenticity for granted, was told by local craftsmen that it had been "built" by their grandfathers.

47. Cort (1988) also records that the temple's food hall serves only vegetarian food "but also potatoes," that is, a root vegetable eaten by Vaisnavas but not by proper Jains.

48. Are these the Nava-Durgas of whom Ksemankari is one?

49. Babb (1993, 9, note 9), refers to her as "clan goddess (*kul devi*) to many Osval Jains" [Italics mine]. Dhaky (1967, 63), on the other hand, had pointed out that Osvals of Saurashtra, by the 1950s, had lost all memory of this goddess.

50. Dhaky's comment (1967, 68) is that "the general atmosphere of the age which favor[ed] non-violence under Jaina influence and piety of the great Jaina Sage may have ultimately helped compel the animal killers at the door of Sacciya to stop their violent acts."

51. Babb (1993, 20) elegantly concludes his discussion of Jain devotees worshipping a Dadaguru: "they are kings and queens in need of healing, and are invoking an old bargain."

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## Chapter Eight Ritual Culture and the Distinctiveness of Jainism

*Lawrence A. Babb*

The vexed question of the location of Jain traditions on the South Asian cultural landscape is normally treated as a matter of relationships between entire "religions." Just how similar or different the matter is usually put are Jainism and Hinduism? In this paper I propose a somewhat different approach. Instead of comparing these large and culturally problematical "isms," I focus on the much narrower domain of ritual culture. My analysis gives special emphasis to the roles of *worshiper* and *object of worship* as they are constructed within ritual performances. This approach discloses surprising continuities and discontinuities between Jain and Hindu traditions.

The paper is divided into two parts. In part 1, I sketch out some basic elements of a Jain ritual culture. I do so on the basis of an interpretation of two rites of worship performed by Svetambar Jains of Jaipur and environs, rites that illustrate well the nature of the roles established in a specific Jain ritual culture. In part 2, I compare Jain ritual roles with comparable material from selected Hindu traditions.

### Part I. A Jain Ritual Culture

#### *Meru's Peak: Those Who Worship*

In Svetambar Jain temples small groups of devotees commonly perform a rite known as *snatra puja* during the early morning hours. Next to the ordinary daily

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rite of temple worship (the *astprakari puja* or eightfold worship), 1 the *snatra puja* is probably the best known and most commonly performed rite in the Svetambar tradition. Its importance to us is that it teaches us something about the role of worshiper in the Jain scheme of things.

The *snatra puja* consists of a series of ritual acts performed in coordination with the singing of a text.<sup>2</sup> The text is the script of the performance; it tells the story of the birth and first bath of the Tirthankar, the tradition's most central figure.

The action portrays these same events. The text most commonly used by Jaipur's Svetambar Jains was authored by a Khartar Gacch monk named Devcandraji (1689-1755 C.E.). The physical objects of worship are two: a metal image of a Tirthankar and a metal disc on which the *siddhcakra* has been inscribed.<sup>3</sup> These are placed on a *singhasan* (lion throne) atop a three-tiered stand. Performers must be freshly bathed, wearing special *puja* clothes, and must cover their mouths and nostrils with a cloth to prevent breathing impurities on the image.

A brief sequence known as *sthapna* precedes the rite. In other ritual traditions, the purpose of *sthapna* is to invoke a deity's presence. But because the Tirthankars are liberated beings (a point to be developed later) their presence cannot be invoked, and it is probably for this reason that no *sthapna mantra* is included in Devcandraji's text. Nevertheless, the procedure is considered essential. A coconut (always associated with auspiciousness) with currency tied to it is placed on a *svastik*-mark below the image on one of the supporting tables or the floor. Most worshipers repeat the *namaskar mantra* (discussed below) three times while doing so. An experienced ritualist told me that while doing *sthapna* one should cultivate the inner feeling that "this is Mt. Meru and we are about to give the Lord his *janamabhisek* (postpartum bath)."

The rite begins with a succession of welcoming flower offerings (*kusam-añjali*) made to five Tirthankars (Rsabhdev, Santinath, Neminath, Parsvanath, and Mahavir). The "flowers" consist of saffron-colored rice which may be mixed with cloves or real flowers. Worshipers stand, holding the flowers, while singing lines of praise from the text. Then comes a *mantra* (power-charged utterance) of offering, at which point the flowers are deposited at the image's feet. After each of these offerings, worshipers apply spots of sandalpaste to the image's body: after the first offering to the feet, next to legs, and then to the hands, shoulders, and head. At the conclusion of the five offerings, celebrants sing the Tirthankars' praise, and some wave or dance with whisks.

Now begins the rite's narrative, which is the story of the holy birth and first bath. Devcandraji's text does not refer to any Tirthankar in particular. Every Tirthankar who ever was, is, or will be, is born and bathed in the same way; the text thus describes a purely archetypal sequence of events. As the story unfolds the participants take on the personae of gods and goddesses who assist in, and celebrate, the events depicted. I now describe the actions of participants and summarize the text.

Worshipers stand with flower offerings in their hands. The story opens. The text begins by telling of how a Tirthankar-to-be earns the *karmas* that make

possible his later Tirthankarhood in the third birth before his final one, and how he takes human birth in a kingly family in Bharatksetra, Airavat, or Mahavideh. At the time of his conception, <sup>4</sup> his mother is visited by fourteen auspicious dreams (listed in the text). She informs her husband, who says that she will give birth to a "*tilak* of the three worlds" who will establish the path to liberation. The throne of the Indra of the first heaven now shakes; he sees the conception by means of his *avadhijñan* (clairvoyant knowledge) and knows that a great savior has come into existence. He rises from his lion throne and closes his hands in salutation. He steps forward, bows, and then announces the conception to the gods. He sings a hymn of praise. There is rejoicing in heaven and in the mother and father's house, and all the beings of the three worlds experience an instant of happiness. Cries of felicitation ring out everywhere.

At this point, human participants make a congratulatory offering of the flowers to the image, and then circumambulate the image three times. Then, while seated, they recite (or one among them recites) a *caityavandan* or a portion of it. Commonly, participants recite the *Namutthunam Sutra* (also known as the *Sakra-stava*), which is believed to be sung by Indra at the time of a Tirthankar's conception.<sup>5</sup> They then wash and dry their hands. They mark their right hands with *svastiks* and stand ready for the next phase of the rite.

The story resumes. The fifty-six Dikkumaris (a category of goddesses) learn of the birth by means of their *avadhijñan*. Singing praises, they go to the mother and clean impurities from the birth-site. At this point, human worshipers make a gesture of cleaning the floor before the image. The Dikkumaris light a lamp. Worshipers likewise show a lamp. The Dikkumaris display a mirror. Worshipers do the same. The Dikkumaris fan the mother and child. Worshipers wave a fan. The Dikkumaris fashion a house from banana trees and bathe the mother and child within. Then they tie a protective thread on the child's wrist. At this point, worshipers place a ceremonial string (*mauli*) on the image's lap.

On the night of the Lord's birth there is brilliance everywhere,<sup>6</sup> and, at the auspicious moment of birth, Indra's throne trembles. Learning of the birth, Indra is filled with happiness, and he causes a bell to be rung. At this point worshipers



ring a bell. Indra then travels to the summit of Mt. Meru and orders the other gods to do the same. Tens of millions of gods assemble. Indra goes to the Lord's mother and does obeisance. The human worshipers now make a flower offering. He explains that he will take the infant to Mt Meru, and, taking the child in his hands, he multiplies himself into five Indras who bear the child to the mountain. There the waiting gods and goddesses sing, dance, and praise the infant as the teacher and lord of the world and as their shelter and support. At this point human worshipers dance.

Indra goes to a special grove where he seats himself on a lion throne with the infant on his lap. The other sixty-three Indras arrive. Acyutendra, the lord of the eleventh and twelfth heavens, orders tens of millions of gods and goddesses to bring water for the Lord's bath. With hands joined in salutation, they obey. The human worshipers now stand ready with water pots.

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The gods go to the *khirsagar* (milky ocean) and all great *tirths* (here apparently meaning pilgrimage places on watercourses) for pure water and other things needed for the Lord's bath. When the gods return Acyutendra exhorts them all to take the Lord's *darsan*, and, at his command, they then assemble and stand ready with pots in hand. The gods ask the Indra of the first heaven, "Who is that wondrous form in your lap?" Indra answers that it is the world's savior and tells them to perform *abhisek*. They do so. At this point the human worshipers, following the model described in the verses, pour water on the image's feet

The Indra of Isan Devlok (the second heaven) now asks the Indra of the first heaven if he might hold the infant. Permission granted, he does. Human worshipers again pour water on the image's feet, and, as the story continues, the worshipers pour water and milky water over the entire image. On special occasions, they anoint the image with what is called "*pañcamrt*," a mixture of five substances (milk, curds, sugar, saffron, and clarified butter). Participants take turns in the pouring, and sometimes several participants at once touch the pot as the liquid is being released. The basic idea is that everyone should take part in the *abhisek*. The image's final bath is with plain water.

The text goes on. The Indra of the first heaven takes the form of four bulls; he pours water over the Lord from the eight horns, and then ornaments and garlands him. The assembled gods cry "victory" and dance: the "chief of the convoy" on the road to liberation has come. They then give an offering of 320 million golden coins. At this point a worshiper circles a coin in the air before the image and deposits it in the bowl into which runoff liquids from the image's bath have been collecting. At last Indra returns the infant to his mother's lap and then goes to Nandisvar Dvip (a continent, inaccessible to humans, where there are temples used by the gods) to worship the eternal Jina images there. The gods return to their normal abodes, saying how much they look forward to the Lord's *diksa* and *kevaljñan kalyanaks* (explained below).

At the end of the text, Devcandraji identifies his disciplic lineage and names himself as the composer of the *puja*. Those worthy (*bhavya*) beings, he says, who perform this birth-rite will plant the seeds of the tree of enlightenment in their hearts and will fill the *sangh* (Jain community) with bliss. The final lines are an exhortation to do the Lord's *puja*; it benefits one's soul and carries one across the ocean of existence. The image's final bath has been with plain water, and at the rite's conclusion the image is removed from the stand and carefully cleaned; it is then wiped dry and returned to its former position. The *snatra puja* proper now completed is followed by a version of the eightfold worship, the *astprakari puja*, and the entire series concludes with lamp offerings (*arati* and *mangal dip*), which are the conventional exit acts for important *pujas*.

Any interpretation of this rite must focus on the story it tells. This story, the most reiterated narrative in Jainism, deals with the redemptive economy of the Jain cosmos. Its basic elements are two. First is the *advent* of one who establishes

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the path of liberation: the descent into a human womb of the Tirthankar-to-be, the dreams, the birth. Second is the establishment of *relationships* between such a being and other beings, which is the axial relationship in the Jain tradition. This is represented by the worshipful attentions of the gods and goddesses, particularly the *janamabhisek*, the postpartum bath. The ritual thus establishes what must exist if a Jain tradition is to exist, namely, a paradigm for the relationship between the Tirthankars and those who worship them.

And who are those who worship? They are of course the gods and goddesses. These deities are often regarded as marginal to Jainism. This is because they are not the focus of worship; they cannot be, because (as we shall see) to be truly worthy of worship is to be a Tirthankar or one who is like a Tirthankar. But to conclude from this that they are unimportant is to miss the point, for they represent the other side of the equation. They are Jainism's paradigmatic worshipers.

The deities, however, are flawed beings. They exist in a state of total enjoyment because of merit (*punya*) earned in previous births. But despite their happiness, they suffer from a crucial limitation: They cannot attain liberation. Asceticism is the road to the liberated state, and the deities, because of their enjoyment, cannot be ascetics. The tradition does not condemn their happy state, for it affirms that it can be gained by means of meritorious action, of which the performance of such rites as the *snatra puja* is a good example. Virtuous action leads to felicity in this life and even rebirth in heaven. The gods stand for such felicity, but they are also emblematic of its ultimate futility. Their happiness is transient, for although their span of life is measured in eons, the deities must fall from heaven in the end, and liberation is impossible for them.

The deities represent a mode of religious action. It is not the highest mode, which is asceticism, but even though the deities are inherently non-ascetic, they can *admire* and *support* ascetics, and also hear their teachings. The birth of a Tirthankar is an opportunity to admire and support such a personage. The admiration is expressed in jubilation and praises; the support takes the form of assistance to the mother and child, conveyance to Mt. Meru, fetching of the materials of worship, the bestowal of vast wealth, and above all the birth ablution itself. If the deities cannot be ascetics, they can be worshipers; and human worshipers, as we see in the *snatra puja*, therefore become deities during the act of worship.

But it is important to note that the *snatra puja* does not glorify the roles of the gods and goddesses. It is the Tirthankar, and not even mighty Indra, who is the actual object of worship. The Tirthankar stands for ascetic values, not for the felicity that the deities embody. A subtext of this and similar rites is that worshipers prosper in the same way the deities do (and can indeed someday *become* deities) as a consequence of worship. But as we shall see later, so decisively is asceticism asserted as the transcendent value that there is a strong tendency in the tradition to interpret human acts of worship as ascetic acts.

### *The Last Life: Those Who Are Worshiped*

Parsvanath was the twenty-third Tirthankar of our era and region of the world. He was born on the tenth day of the dark fortnight of the lunar month of Paus, and Svetambar Jains celebrate an annual festival called Paus Dasmi on this date. In Jaipur this occasion is marked, in part, by the public performance of a rite called the "*parsvanath pañc kalyanak puja*," which takes place at a temple at Mohan Bari on Galta road. It celebrates Parsvanath's last birth as an unliberated being; in so doing, it illustrates the qualities of one who is worthy of being an *object of worship*.

The rite belongs to a class of similar "five-*kalyanak pujas*." Five definitive events occur in every Tirthankar's final lifetime: his transmission into a human womb (*cyavan*), birth (*janam*), initiation (*diksa*), attainment of omniscience (*kevaljñān*), and liberation (*nirvan*). These are the five *kalyanaks*, the "five welfare-producing events." Each five-*kalyanak puja* celebrates the five *kalyanaks* of a particular Tirthankar. The *puja* manual that was used in the two temples I frequented most in Jaipur included *pujas* of this type for Rsabh, Santinath, Parsvanath, and Mahavir. The text of the *puja* described here was written by an ascetic named Jinkavindrasagarsuri (1907-1960).

The rite's structure is simple. Participants sing songs from the text that recount and praise each of Parsvanath's five *kalyanaks*; at the conclusion of each set of songs a series of offerings is made. Thus, the rite consists of five separate groups of ritual acts, each preceded by a group of songs. Unlike the *snatra puja*, the events depicted are not acted out, and the narrative is therefore carried entirely by the text. In *pujas* of this type, the offerings are normally the responsibility of a limited number of individuals who are bathed and wearing *puja* clothes. These I call "*puja* principals." They stand, often in husband-wife pairs, holding a platter containing the offerings while the songs appropriate to a given segment of the rite are sung; when the appropriate moment comes they perform the required actions.<sup>7</sup> The other participants serve as both singers and audience. Remaining seated, they sing the *puja's* verses and witness the *puja* principals' acts.

The focus of worship is a small metal image of the Tirthankar and a metal *siddhcakra*. In front of the image's stand is a low table on which five small flags have been placed in a row. *Svastiks* (executed in sandalpaste) mark the positions at the

foot of each flag where offerings are deposited as the *puja* progresses.

The rite begins with the *cyavan kalyanak*, the celebration of the Tirthankar-to-be's descent from his previous existence as a god into a human womb.<sup>8</sup> The text for this sequence centers on Parsvanath's relationship with Kamath, who is his transmigratory moral alter. His defects reverse Parsvanath's virtues, and Parsvanath's virtues provoke Kamath again and again into the gravest sins. The story of how this fateful relationship began is not covered in the *puja's* text, but is well known to Jains. Marubhuti (who will become Parsvanath in a later birth) and Kamath were once Brahman brothers. Marubhuti was a paragon of virtue

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who had accepted the doctrines of Jainism and spent his time in meditation and fasting. Kamath committed adultery with Marubhuti's wife. Marubhuti spied on the couple and reported Kamath's misdeed to the king. Kamath was punished, and Marubhuti was filled with regret. Marubhuti came to Kamath to beg forgiveness; while he was bowing, Kamath killed him with a stone.

At this point the *puja's* narrative begins. "Crooked Kamath was attached to sensual vices," says the opening verse, "he killed his brother Marubhuti." As the text, which I summarize, continues, we learn how Marubhuti took his next birth as an elephant and was returned to the piety of his previous life by the king, who, in the meantime, had become an ascetic. Taking the form of a *kukurt* serpent (part snake, part cock), Kamath then murdered him again. Marubhuti was reborn as a god, while Kamath went to hell. In his next birth, Marubhuti became a king named Kiranveg. He renounced the world, only to be murdered again by Kamath in the form of a snake. Marubhuti now became a god in the twelfth heaven, while Kamath descended to the fifth hell. In his next birth, Marubhuti was a king named Vajnabh. He again renounced the world, and Kamath, in the form of a Bhil, killed him with an arrow. Marubhuti became a god in one of the highest heavens, and Kamath descended to the seventh hell.

Marubhuti's eighth birth was announced by the fourteen dreams that herald the birth of a *cakravartin* (or a Tirthankar), and he became an emperor named Svarnbahu. This birth was decisive; he renounced the world and engaged in certain spiritual observances and activities leading to the acquisition of the *karma* of a future Tirthankar. Wicked Kamath, this time in the form of a lion, murdered him again, and in his next birth Marubhuti became a god in the tenth heaven while Kamath fell once again to hell. As a god, Marubhuti performed *puja* of the eternal Jina images (in Nandisvar Dvip [above]) and served ascetics. Although he experienced enjoyment, his mind remained detached; he was like the lotus that remains separate from the slime in which it grows. Unlike other gods (the text observes) a Tirthankar-to-be does not grieve when he learns of his impending death. He rejoices, because he knows that after his fall from heaven will come liberation. The narrative pauses here. It is time for the first offerings.

Meritorious action (*punya*) and sin (*pap*) are important themes in the story thus far. Virtue is rewarded by rebirth in heaven; sin brings the miseries of hell. The wretched Kamath's career is the mirror opposite of Marubhuti's. Drawn by his hatred into a transmigratory career of crime (of which we have not yet seen the end), Kamath repeatedly falls into hell. It should be noted, however, that even Tirthankars-to-be can suffer the pains of hell. During the twenty-seven births leading up to his Tirthankarhood, Mahavir did two terms in hell, one in the seventh hell. There is, therefore, a higher point to the tale, which is that renunciation transcends even matters of sin and virtue. Heaven's joys are transient (as are hell's agonies). Although his virtues bring him stupendous worldly and heavenly enjoyments, wise Marubhuti remains indifferent, and this is what leads to his final victory.

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At the end of these verses comes the poet's signature line, and then a short Sanskrit verse and a *mantra* of offering. At this point a gong is sounded, and the required ritual actions are performed by the *puja* principals (or principal). They pour a small amount of water on a folded cloth, an abbreviated *abhisek*. Then they anoint the image with sandalpaste. They garland the leftmost flag, and proffer incense and a lamp. Using rice from the platter, they form a *svastik* atop the one already drawn on the table's surface in front of the flag. On this they place a coconut to which a folded cloth and a currency note have been tied. In this context the coconut is called "*sriphal*," and it stands for auspiciousness, for good results. Sweets and fruits are then arranged around the coconut. With this the *puja* of the *cyavan kalyanak* is complete.

Before resuming, it should be noted that the edibles and other offerings made in these sequences are never returned to the offerers. In other South Asian ritual traditions, such offerings, seen as the deity's blessing or grace (*prasad*), are recovered and consumed by the offerers. This is never done when Jains worship the Tirthankars. This point will be explored in greater detail later.

Next comes the *janam kalyanak*. The text tells of the fourteen dreams, the birth, Indra's throne shaking, the sending of the fifty-six Dikkumaris, and of course the *janamabhisek* performed by the gods. Unlike the *snatra puja* version, the story is not presented as generic: this is Parsvanath's birth in particular, and thus the city is Banaras, his mother is Vama, and his father is Asvasen. "Blessed is the city of Banaras," the opening couplet proclaims; "blessed is king Asvasen / Blessed is the virtuous Queen Vama, because they obtained the Lord." At the conclusion of the text, the *mantra* of offering is repeated and the gong sounded. The ritual acts are performed exactly as before, but this time the garland and other items are offered at the position of the second flag from the left.

The *puja* of the Lord's *diksa* comes next. The text resumes, the narrative now shifting to Parsvanath's childhood. He was beloved by the people. He possessed clairvoyant knowledge. He sucked nectar from his thumb. Youth and adolescence passed, and he married the princess Prabhavati. Wicked Kamath appeared again, this time as a fraudulent Brahman ascetic performing the five-fire penance. Having arrived at the scene with his mother, Parsvanath saw a cobra hiding in one of the pieces of burning wood. "Tell me how," he asked the ascetic, "austerities accompanied by violence can be fruitful?" Parsvanath removed a pair of half-burnt cobras from the wood (in other accounts only one snake is removed). He repeated the *namaskar mantra*, and the now-enlightened cobras became Dharnendra and Padmavati. Kamath fled, died, and became the demon-like Meghmalin.

The text now turns to the *diksa*. In the springtime, Parvanath saw a picture of Neminath's wedding party and his mind turned to renunciation. The Lokantik gods urged him to renounce the world, to teach, and to redeem those who are capable of liberation. He gave gifts for a year. The gods and kings took

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him to the garden named Asrampad for his *diksa*. He fasted for three days, and obtained the mind reading ability acquired by all *arhats* at the time of initiation. With three hundred men he took *diksa*, and the gods gave him his ascetic garb. The gods celebrated the *diksa kalyanak*, and went to Nandisvar to perform *puja* of the eternal *jina* images there. The signature line is followed by the usual Sanskrit stanza and *mantra*. The ritual actions are performed as before, but this time at the position of the third flag from the left.

Next is *kevaljñan*. The text resumes. Free of all attachments, the Lord wandered from place to place; he took his first post-fast meal in the house of a Seth named Dhan. He came one day to the forest of Kadambri and there met Kamath, now Meghmalin, who tried to break his concentration by conjuring up the forms of a lion and a snake. The Lord was undisturbed. Clouds then thickened and surged, lighting cracked, rain fell like missiles, and the world began to flood. The water rose to Parsvanath's nose, but his concentration was still unshaken. Now the throne of Dharnendra began to shake, and he saw his Lord's predicament. He and Padmavati then saved Parsvanath from the flood. Dharnendra rebuked Kamath, who, humbled at last, took Parsvanath's "shelter."

The text continues. For eighty-four days the Lord remained a monk; on the fourth of the dark fortnight of caitra, while under the *dhataki* tree, he obtained *kevaljñan*. He advanced through the *gunasthans* (stages of spiritual advancement leading to liberation) and cut the *ghati karms* (the destructive *karms*, of which the last vestiges disappear in the thirteenth and penultimate *gunasthan*). He manifested the eight *pratiharyas* (signs of Tirthankarhood). After the signature line of the final hymn comes the *mantra*. The ritual acts are performed, this time at the position of the fourth flag.

Fifth and last is the *nirvan kalyanak*, the Lord's liberation. The previous *kalyanaks* have all had three songs; this time there are only two. The text resumes. The Lord sat and preached to the universal assembly of humans, gods, and animals. His parents came to hear his teachings and take *diksa*. Subh (Subhdatt) and his other chief disciples appeared. The Lord enlightened the ascetics and laypersons, men and women. The text now reiterates the story of his last lifetime.

For thirty years he was a householder, and an ascetic for eighty-three days; he spent sixty-nine years, nine months, and seven days in the condition of *kevaljñan*. He knew he would live one hundred years. He spent his last *caturmas* on the peak of Samet mountain. Thirty-three ascetics were with the Lord; they fasted for one month. On the eighth of the bright half of the lunar month of Sravan he attained *nirvan*. Their hearts filled with joy and sorrow, the gods celebrated the



*kalyanak* with cries of victory.

The author signs, the *mantra* is uttered, and the ritual actions are performed, this time at the position of the fifth flag. This is the conclusion of the ceremony, except for a brief final sequence that terminates with two lamp offerings (*arati* and *mangal dip*).

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## *A Ritual Culture*

What do we learn from the *puja* of Lord Parsvanath's five *kalyanaks*? We note first that the role of worshiper is the same as in the *snatra puja*. The admirers and supporters of the Tirthankar are deities with whom human worshipers identify. The only difference is that five *kalyanaks* are involved rather than one. But the *puja* is also, and mainly, about the one who is worshipped, and therefore this rite teaches us about worship-worthiness in the Jain tradition. What is it to be worthy of worship? It is to have lived the ideal life. The *puja* of Parsvanath's five *kalyanaks* is concerned with the nature of such a life.

The five *kalyanaks* are themselves the key. These events define the lives of all Tirthankars, and at this level the careers of all Tirthankars become one. This is not to say that differences in the Tirthankars' individual histories are without importance. Parsvanath's five-*kalyanak puja* situates the *kalyanaks* in Lord Parsvanath's unique final lifetime, and this lifetime has great importance in cultic Jainism. Dharnendra and Padmavati are products of Parsvanath's *own* particular career, and they are regarded as powerful deities who will assist in the worldly affairs of those who worship Parsvanath. The special features of individual Tirthankars' worldly careers can thus be woven into ritual formats. But the actual five *kalyanaks* are always the same. 9 They are the ingredients of the ideal life, and thus defined the ideal life is one of asceticism.

As we see from the rite's text, Parsvanath's trajectory toward world renunciation is established long before his final lifetime. The rite's text recounts his previous births from the lifetime in which he obtained *samyaktva* (right belief) thus making the important point that, when the seeds of righteousness have been planted, progress is always possible, no matter what the ups and downs in the meantime. This is a crucial element in the Jain sense of things. Even if one has little immediate interest in the ultimate goal of liberation or little sense of its personal gainability which is in fact true of many ordinary Jain one can still believe that one is on the right road if one has been touched by Jain teachings, and if one has the requisite capability (*bhavyatva*). How does one know who is on this path and who has this capacity? Such persons are, surely, among those who celebrate the Lord's *kalyanaks*.

But Parsvanath's transmigratory career takes a decisive turn. His destiny is fixed when he acquires the *karma* of a Tirthankar-to-be two births before his final one. He has reaped the rewards of virtue, but these he sees in the perspective of his detachment. Divine and earthly happiness is the inevitable reward of virtuous action. This the Tirthankar-to-be achieves in abundance, but he is completely indifferent to it. His is another goal, for all felicity is a shackle, albeit one of gold. The rite's text draws our attention to his penultimate existence as a god. Other gods mourn their impending falls from heaven, but not the Tirthankar-to-be, for he regards human birth as an opportunity.

Two paths of religious action are defined within this ritual culture. One is that of those who use their wealth and power to admire and support ascetics. The

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gods, and especially the Indras the lords of heaven and the tradition's paradigmatic worshipers are the divine personifications of this approach. And heaven, whose denizens enjoy complete (though temporally finite) felicity, represents a celestialization of the worldly rewards of merit. Heaven exists on earth as well; here it is the wealth and power commanded by earthly sovereigns (of whom the Indras are heavenly projections), and in lesser degree by men and women who flourish in the world's varied endeavors. But the Tirthankar takes another path. He rejects all such felicity, earthly or celestial; he does so before his final birth, and in his last lifetime he does so again. Indras (and their human imitators) are worshipers and enjoyers. But the Tirthankar is above all an ascetic, and asceticism is the essence of worship-worthiness.

In this scheme of things, human beings have a unique position. The path of the worshiper and the path of the ascetic are, at one level, mutually exclusive. The gods are enjoyers, and therefore cannot be ascetics; thus, they are worshipers. In contrast, although ascetics can engage in what is called *bhav puja* (mental worship), they cannot perform *dravya puja* (worship with material things), which can be done only by gods and non-mendicant humans. This is because they are propertyless; possessing nothing, they can offer nothing. Liberation is denied the gods; well-being is (by definition) denied the ascetic. The two possibilities intersect in the human body. Unlike the gods, human beings can practice asceticism. Even if they do not become initiated ascetics, they can and do engage in ascetic practices. But also, lay men and women can, as do the gods, worship with material things. Indeed, as with the gods, it is their very wealththeir worldly felicitythat makes worship with material things possible.

But to be worthy of worship is to be an ascetic, and this is probably the most basic premise of Jain ritual culture. The principle is most clearly illustrated by the ritual formula called the "*namaskar mantra*" (also known as the *navkar mantra* or *mahamantra*), which is undoubtedly the most frequently repeated utterance in Jainism. 10 The reciter salutes the five *paramesthins*, who are the only beings the tradition deems fully worthy of worship: the *arhats* (meaning, worthy of worship, and here referring to the Jinas) the *siddhas* (the liberated), the *acaryas* (ascetic leaders), the *upadhyayas* (ascetic preceptors), and the *sadhus* (ascetics). Living mendicants are included in the formula because they, too, are ascetics seeking the highest goal (Jaini, 1979, 163). In fact, Jains offer *vandan* (ritual praise) to living mendicants, and even a type of *puja* (which, however, is not to be confused with the worship of the Tirthankars). 11

The fifth *kalyanak*, liberation, has a special impact on the tradition's ritual culture. It is not the focus of very much actual ritual, 12 but it has a great deal to do with the nature of the interactions that define Jain ritual culture. This is because it establishes the Tirthankar as a liberated being. For the Jains liberation is the realization of a completely isolated and non-transactional state. The liberated being engages in no interactions whatsoever with beings caught in the flux and flow of *samsar*. In this sense, liberation is simply the full realization of the ascetic

idea: withdrawal from the world brought to its logical completion. Although the liberated being may be said to be aware of his worshipers (for he is omniscient, and in this sense is a genuine "other"), he cannot possibly respond to prayers or petitions or become a source of saving grace.

The transactional absence of the Tirthankar means that ritual has to be *reflexive*. That is, a rite may indeed produce results, but such results must originate with the rite's performer, not its object. At one level, reflexivity is reflected in ideas of the worldly rewards of worship. For example, the concept of *punya* (merit), which is often used to explain the good worldly effects of ritual acts, is a reflexive idea; merit is earned by the worshiper and is not bestowed by the object of worship. It is true that rites of worship sometimes seem to be conceived as tapping sacred power. This power, however, is not, and cannot be, the Tirthankar's in any direct sense. To the degree that a power extrinsic to the worshiper is involved at all, it is associated with the Tirthankar's *kalyan*, the welfare produced by his *kalyanaks* (Cort 1989, 469) that lingers in the cosmos even in his absence.

At another level, the theme of reflexivity gets woven into the very concept of the ritual act. Not surprisingly, the key to this is asceticism. Normative interpretations of the rite of daily worship (as encountered in informants' statements and in laymen's manuals such as Muktiprabhviyay n.d. or Hemprabhasri 1977) tend to portray it as a ritualized imitation of the ascetic's renunciation of the world. This tendency is most dramatically illustrated by interpretations of the offering of food. In a verse often accompanying food offerings in Svetambar worship (Muktiprabhviyay n.d.: 60; Hemprabhasri 1977, 37), the offerer is contrasted with the Tirthankar as a "being who eats" as opposed to the Tirthankar who is "non-eating" (anahari); the worshiper expresses the wish to attain the same consumptionless condition. That is, by offering food the offerer is actually *renouncing* food in hopes of emulating the Tirthankar. Thus, the worship of an ascetic becomesin the endan ascetic act.

As will be seen later, in other south Asian ritual traditions the worshiper canin ritual logicestablish a consubstantial connection with the object of worship; in such a context the worshiper, we may say, *becomes* the object of worship. In many Hindu traditions, the retrieval of food from the altar and its consumption by devotees expresses this idea of consubstantiality. But in Jain ritual tradition there can be no question of such a transformation, for connection is impossible. What remains as a possibility is to become *like* the object of worship. The worshiper therefore imitates the Tirthankar; the food offering is not "given to," but "given up." In light of such an idea, to consume the food offering

would be in deep symbolic dissonance with the supposed purpose of the act; one does not take back that which one discards. That is why such offerings are not consumed by Jains (as we have noted), and instead are typically given to the non-Jain *pujaris* of the temple.

The materials we have seen on the *snatra puja* and Parsvanath's five-*kalyanak puja* provide us with the rough outlines of a ritual culture. The fact that

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the object of worship is an apotheosized ascetic generates much of this ritual culture's distinctive structure and spirit. Ascetic values may be said to constitute its symbolic overhang. There is a *relationship* between worshiper and worshiped, but because of the totalized ascetic withdrawal of the object of worship, this relationship cannot possibly involve exchange. As do the gods, the worshiper admires and supports the Tirthankar, but Indra-like admiration and support grade into symbolic emulation. As do the gods, the worshiper makes offerings, but the tradition encourages this to be interpreted through the lens of ascetic values. The worshiper is Indra (or Indrani), an identity that resonates with hopes for worldly felicity. But from the standpoint of the tradition's highest values those of the ascetic the worshiper *is* an ascetic. Symbolically the transition is an easy one to make; Indra's kingly largess becomes the ascetic's abandonment, and the path of liberation, as opposed to the path of felicity, comes to the fore.

## Part 2. Variations

### *When God is Rich*

A Svetambar Jain friend from Jaipur once suggested to me that, to understand why food offered in Jain worship is not then given to worshipers, one must see things from the Vaisnava viewpoint. To the Vaisnavas, he said, God is a creator and a giver; he is wealthy. The Tirthankar is obviously not wealthy, he added, so how can he be a giver? This was an extremely acute and interesting observation. It pointed to the truly essential thing about Jain ritual culture: the asceticism of the object of worship. It also revealed that, to an insider's sensibility, "Hinduism" is not necessarily the right entity with which to compare Jain traditions; more logical, to my friend at least, would be the Vaisnavas. He almost certainly had in mind the Pustimarg, a Vaisnava sect that is extremely influential in Rajasthan and has many followers within the general merchant class to which Jains belong.

If we follow my friend's advice that is, if we forget about "Hinduism" and concentrate on the Pustimarg and its ritual culture then we make an interesting discovery. It is probably true that many of the elaborations and flourishes of major Jain *pujas* have been influenced by Vaisnava patterns. At a deeper level, however, the ritual culture of the Pustimarg is very different from that of the Jains; in a sense, it is Jain ritual culture precisely inverted.

The Pustimarg was, in effect, invented as a ritual culture. It is said that in 1410 C.E. a bent arm made of black stone miraculously appeared out of the ground on the top of Mt. Govardhan in Braj (Barz 1976, 22-29). This object was (or was later held to be) a portion of an image of Krsna as Sri Govardhannathji. Because the image was discovered on Nag Pañcmi day (a snake festival), the local people worshipped it with milk as snakes are worshiped. However, on the basis of directions

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received from Lord Krsna in a vision, Vallabhacarya the founder of the Putimarg went to Braj in 1494, and revealed the image's true identity. He then established proper procedures for its regular worship. The image, now at Nathdvara, is the sect's physical epicenter. In the same year, Krsna also revealed a conversion formula to Vallabhacarya. It expresses one of the sect's core ideas: that all that the devotee possesses mind, body, and wealth (*man, tan, dhan*) should be offered to Krsna before use; in this way the soul can be cleansed of faults (*dosas*) and redeemed.

The Pustimarg places the strongest emphasis possible on transactions between worshiper and worshiped, but Jains, as we know, do not transact with the Tirthankars at all. In the Pustimarg, Krsna is seen as present to the highest degree, and thus can indeed engage in exchanges; the ritual culture of the Jains, however, is shaped by the transactional absence of the object of worship. Worship in the Pustimarg is transactionally *dense*; Jain worship is transactionally *null*.

This contrast is manifested especially in transactions in the medium of food. The Jain and Pustimarg traditions take completely opposite views of the whole matter of food and eating. Food has a bad reputation in the Jain world; it is the basis of bodily existence, and thus a primary ingredient of bondage. Because of the spiritual hazards of eating, fasting is central to both lay and monastic practice among Jains, and the offering of food in Jain worship is interpreted as a ritualized renunciation of food. But far from being spiritually hazardous, food is a powerful positive value in the Pustimarg. Here the very concept of *nourishment*, radically devalued in Jainism, is central to the relationship between worshiper and deity. The term "Pustimarg" means the "road" or "path" (*marg*) of *pusti*. The latter term carries the meanings of "nourishment," "strengthening," or "support," and in this context it refers to Krsna's grace (*anugraha*) that nourishes and supports the devotee (Barz 1976, 86).

Thus, the Pustimarg has a food-centered ritual culture. Food offered to Krsna is called "*bhog*" (enjoyment). Krsna enjoys the food offering and, through his enjoyment, transforms it. The recovered offering becomes his *prasad*, his grace, by which devotees are "nourished" (Bennett 1990, 199; Toomey 1990, 167-68). The Pustimarg's alimentary emphasis is vividly expressed in the festival of annakuta, the "mountain of food" (Bennett 1983, 295-307; 1990, 199-200). Occurring on the second day of divali, it commemorates the famous episode in which the people of Braj ceased giving sacrifice to Indra and started worshiping Mt. Govardhan instead. They made a mountain of food as high as Mt. Govardhan, and Krsna, assuming the form of the mountain, ate it all. Worshipers give their own mountains of food symbolizing their overflowing devotion; Krsna is "both receiver and redistributor, the repository of an overflowing store of devotion and the source of boundless grace" (ibid., 200).

The idealized personae of worshipers are also very different in Jainism and the Pustimarg. The Jain worshiper becomes Indra or Indrani. These regal divinities support and admire the Tirthankar, and even bathe the infant Tirthankar lovingly, but the relationship cannot be described as intimate; rather, these kings and

queens of heaven acknowledge a superior sovereignty, the spiritual kingship of he who is a victor (*jina*) over attachments and aversions. And, as we have seen, the Jain emphasis on asceticism decisively separates worshiper from worshiped in the end. The connection between worshiper and worshiped ranges from metaphorical to analogical; it cannot be tangible or substantial. Closure between worshiper and worshiped is brought about only by a tightening of metaphor into analogy; what results is resemblance, not contact.

The Pustimarg stresses intimacy. Here the connection between worshiper and worshiped is not metaphorical but, within the world of the ritual, "real." This tradition recognizes four principal emotional attitudes (*bhavas*) that the devotee can assume in his or her relationship with Krsna: that of servant to master, friend to friend, parent to child, and lover to beloved (Barz 1976, 87-91; Bennett 1983, 141-42). The servant-master relationship, with its implications of rigid hierarchy, is downplayed as inconsistent with the desired intimacy between devotee and deity. Of the other emotions, the most important is that of parent to child (*vatsalya*) (Barz 1976, 88; Bennett 1983, 214), and in *ritual* the worshiper's favored role is that of Yasoda, Krsna's foster mother (Bennett 1983, 249; Toomey 1990, 167-68). The food offering is full of mother's love-as-nourishment; what returns is Krsna's "nourishing grace."

Unlike the Tirthankar, Krsna is a highly transactional being. Vallabhacarya taught that souls are burdened with faults or impurities, and that these must be cleaned away by offering all that one has to Krsnamind, body and wealth (Barz 1976, 16-20). Krsna himself would accomplish this, for only he "could remove the impurities which darkened the soul" (Bennett 1983, 88). The agency of this transformation was Vallabhacarya, who was an incarnation of Krsna appearing precisely for this purpose (ibid., 89). In this role, Vallabhacarya was associated with Agni and the sacrificial fire that "burns away" impurities (ibid., 93-94). Thus, in the first step toward redemption, the offerer gives himself, and a purified self is returned. Having been thus purified, initiates are "fit" to approach Lord Krsna more directly. Now the transactional gateway between deity and devotee opens widely; intimate exchanges, tending toward complete consubstantiation, become possible. Food offerings are the highest ritual expression of this intimacy. From a worldly (*laukik*) viewpoint, fine foods are given in abundance, and the remnants of Krsna's meal are eaten by devotees. From a spiritual (*alaukik*) standpoint which is the perspective of realized devotees the transaction is emotional. The offered food embodies the devotee's feelings of love; Krsna's "enjoyment" infuses the offerings with his "bliss" (*ananda*), which is returned to devotees as his *prasad* (Bennett 1983, 246-61). The transaction thus actualizes the devotee's primordial identity with Krsna, which is one of the tenets of Vallabhacarya's theology of *suddhadvaita* (Barz 1976, 56-79).



The ritual cultures of the Jains and the Pustimarg are true opposites. Krsna takes and enjoys mountains of food. The Tirthankar, "eatingless" in his very nature, takes and enjoys nothing. The Pustimargi devotee gives *everything* to Lord

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Krsna his mind, body and wealth and then keeps giving. The Jain worshiper gives, but gives nothing to the Tirthankar; what he gives, he "gives away" in an act of symbolic renunciation. 14 Lord Krsna is a *giver*, a bestower of overflowing grace. The Tirthankar gives nothing, and *can* give nothing; the benefits the worshiper receives he generates himself. All of this is consistent with a basic soteriological difference. The Pustimarg asserts that redemption (*uddhar*) cannot be achieved without Krsna's grace (Barz, 1976, 60), whereas the Jains say that liberation can only be achieved on one's own.

We may note finally that Krsna's ritual persona seems to utilize a different image of kingship than we see in the case of the Tirthankar. The Tirthankar is a royal figure: he *could* become an earthly emperor, but chooses the path of a spiritual sovereign instead. The emphasis is on spiritual conquest, his victory over attachments and aversions. In Krsna's case the accent is on royal generosity. While it is true that the Pustimarg strongly downplays hierarchy between worshiper and worshiped, Krsna's role nevertheless seems to reflect, if only in part, an image of the king as the focus of a redistributive network (see Bennett, 1983, 268-307). In Jain tradition, the attribute of regal generosity is shifted away from the Tirthankar and assigned to the gods instead.<sup>15</sup>

*Siva*

The Pustimarg is considered a Hindu sect. Have we, then, discovered an essential difference between Jainism and Hinduism? Not quite, for it turns out that Jain ritual culture has parallels in what is generally regarded as the Hindu world. An example is Saiva Siddhanta. Let me stress that a comparison of Jain and Saiva ritual culture is not suggested as is our Jain-Vaisnava comparison by close regional and social juxtaposition. Rather, in this case comparison finds its rationale in the existence of structural similarities. These similarities raise serious questions about the validity of the conventional Jain-Hindu boundary and may also point to structural unities underlying South Asian ritual cultures.

Similarities between the ritual cultures of Jainism and Saiva Siddhanta are quite striking, especially in the treatment of food offerings. From the fine recent account of Richard H. Davis (1991) we learn that the Saiva worshiper makes offerings to Lord Siva, but they are not afterwards consumed by the offerers. Instead of being reclaimed by worshipers, the forbidden leftovers, called "*nirmalya*,"<sup>16</sup> are offered to a fearsome deity named "Canda." Canda is one of the Ganesvaras, and he seems to function as a temple guardian. Afterwards the now twice-offered materials of worship are burnt, buried, submerged, or given to animals. What are we to make of this?

When we look more closely at Saiva ritual culture, we see an overlay of themes reminiscent of the Pustimarg. We also see, however, what appears to be a deeper affinity with Jain ritual culture. Let me say that it is not my intention to characterize Saiva Siddhanta as an entire ritual tradition; I am concerned, rather,

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with the admittedly narrow issue of ritual roles and exchanges. What interests me is that, from this perspective, it is almost as if Saiva ritual culture is Jainism in a "Hindu" guise.

As in the Pustimarg, in Saiva ritual the deity is a transacting "presence." Siva is believed to "descend" (Davis 1991, 128-33) into the *linga*, which is seen as a "physical support" for his presence (ibid., 122). Moreover, Siva actually does receive the offerings, which provide him "with pleasurable sensory experience while he is embodied and present in the shrine" (ibid., 500). As in the Pustimarg, the offerer even offers himself; he moves from giving other substances to "giving his own inner constituents to Siva, ending with his most essential part, the soul" (ibid., 153).

But we must also note similarities with Jainism. To begin with, the Saivas seem to share with the Jains the notion that worshiper and worshiped do not merge. In this respect both traditions contrast similarly with the Pustimarg. As among the Jains, the relationship between worshiper and worshiped postulated by the Saivas seems, at least in some respects, more metaphorical or analogical than tangible. In accordance with the well-known formula, " 'Only a Siva can worship Siva' " (ibid., 52), the Saiva worshiper metamorphoses his body into a Siva-like form. But actual merger is not the goal of Saiva

ritual; one seeks not to become *Siva*, but to become *a Siva*. According to Davis, "A liberated soul does not merge into divinity or become united with him, as some other systems of Hindu philosophy assert. Nor does it enter again into the manifest cosmos. Rather, it remains as an *autonomous theomorphic entity*, separate from Siva but with all his powers and qualities" (ibid., 83; Italics mine). The central goal of the ritual act is to transform the actor into a Siva-like state by means of what is called "*atmasuddhi*," soul-purification; the ultimate aim is to achieve this condition permanently. *Atmasuddhi* purifies the soul by means of a ritual transformation of the body, and this is viewed as a "rehearsal" for the ritualist's final liberation (ibid., 101).

Furthermore, as do the Jains, the Saivas emphasize ritual reflexivity. Although the Saivas state that Siva's grace is a necessary precondition for the removal of binding fetters (ibid., 28-29), the logic of ritual is based on the idea of self-transformation. The Saiva worshiper, Davis says, "exercises his own capacities of self-transformation, both rehearsing his final liberation and at the same time gradually bringing it about" (ibid., 101). Saiva ritual therefore also echoes the Jain theme of ritual emulation. The ultimate goal of the ritual act is the purification of the soul in emulation of Siva's own qualities.

What of the unrecovered offerings? Between the Jains and the Saivas the basic practice is the same, but there are apparent differences. Among the Jains, the non-returnability of offerings has to do with the asceticism of the object of worship and the worshiper's reflexive asceticism. The offering is unrecovered because it bears *negative* value that cannot be transmuted into something positive. Among the Saivas, however, the issue seems to be "purity," a positive value. "Contact with Siva," states Davis, "has rendered the *nirmalya* immaculate, yet human

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worshippers continue to inhabit bodies infested with *mala* and so are not able to bear contact with so much pureness" (ibid., 156). Siva says (in one *Purana*) that to consume his leavings is equivalent to a Sudra studying the Vedas, and will lead to the consumer's destruction. Thus, because it is too positive to be borne by humans, the leftover offering has to be given to Canda instead. "In contrast to humans," Davis explains, "Canda is able to bear the intense purity of *nirmalya*, presumably by means of his own ardent character" (ibid., 157).

There is, however, another possible angle on this issue. Davis declares, "Worshipping Canda has a second purpose as well. Not only does it present the *nirmalya* to an appropriate recipient, it also removes any faults (*dosa*) the priest may have committed while worshipping the linga. . . . Like Siva's own power of reabsorption, the fierce Canda removes and absorbs a host of things: the afflictions of his devotees, mistakes made in worshipping Siva, and Siva's too-pure leftovers" (ibid., 157).

Now it is not for us to tell the Saivas what they mean. But if we bracket the "too pure" formula and instead emphasize the possibility that offerings carry, or at least resonate with, negativities/faults, afflictions, and so on then we can make good sense of the pattern, for it bears a strong resemblance to the pattern we have called "Jain." Offerings, for the Jains, carry negative value; in harmony with the prevailing ascetic outlook, they are *shed* in the context of the ritual encounter. It seems possible that the Saiva offering also carries a negative burden. In this context, it may be significant that, as do the Jains, the Saivas see the act of making offerings as a form of "abandonment" (*tyaga*) (ibid., 159).

What actually transpires between Siva and any offering-borne negativity? We know that Siva consumes only that portion of the offering that has (by ritual means) been infused with his nature (*sivatva*), not the physical part (ibid., 154). Can "faults" be made into Siva? I think the answer is no; I suspect this precisely because the negativities seem to be passed along to Canda, who must then deal with them somehow. When the Saivas say that the offering is "too pure" to be recovered by the offerers, this may cover a deeper idea that Siva, unlike the Pustimarg's Krsna, is not a deity who transforms and returns, but a being wholike the Tirthankar presides over ritualizations in the reflexive and emulatory mode.

Similarities between Jain and Saiva ritual patterns make theological sense. Unlike the "wealthy" deity of the Vaisnavas, neither Tirthankar nor Siva is a very good candidate for dense transactional relationships with worshippers. The Tirthankar is an ascetic. So is Siva. 17 The Tirthankar is entirely non-transactive. Siva seems minimally so. He *does* in some sense receive the offering, but in the end it or at least the physical part of it is passed to another being. Whatever their differences, Jain and Saiva ritual cultures seem to be shaped in similar ways by the worship of divine beings who transact thinly, not thickly, with devotees.

Where, then, has the boundary between Jainism and Hinduism gone? The real division in the materials we have seen is not between Hindus and non-Hindus (in

this case Jains), but between traditions emphasizing transacting versus non-transacting or minimally transacting objects of worship. We must now ask whether there is some ordering principle other than the Hindu-Jain contrast that we can apply to these ritual cultures. I think there is. An important clue to what it might be is contained in Gloria Raheja's recent analysis (1988) of the ritual culture of villagers of Saharanpur District. Here we find further evidence of structural unities between ostensibly very different ritual traditions.

The roles underlying this ritual culture are based on a particular kind of transaction: the giving of *dan* (*dana*). Normally *dan* is translated as "charitable gift" or "alms" in English, but Raheja shows that the term has a much wider meaning. In the village she studied, *dan* is seen as a material vehicle for the transmission of "inauspiciousness" (*nasubh*) from donors to receivers (see also Parry 1986). The *dan*-giver is considered *jajman*, sacrificer. Depending on the context, the receivers (*patras*) may be married daughters and sisters or their husbands, or individuals acting in caste-specific roles in relation to donors. The donor has a "right" (*haq*) to give *dan*, and the receiver the "obligation" (*pharmaya*) to further the welfare of the donor by taking it.

A good example of the pattern is a class of rites known as *vrats*, "votive fasts." Most *vrats* occur in two phases. The first is the performance of some kind of asceticism. Raheja interprets asceticism as "disarticulative"; it results in "heating," which loosens inauspicious or harmful qualities preparatory to their removal. Then follows the critical transfer, which occurs in a final ritual phase called "*udapan*." Certain materials (called "*carhapa*" or "*pujapa*" in this context) are passed to specified recipients as a form of *dan*. The *dan* has absorbed the disarticulated inauspiciousness, which it then carries to the receiver.

When a deity happens to be involved (and deities are not involved in all *vrats*), the materials (foodstuffs, clothing, ornaments) are first offered to the particular deity presiding over the rite. This deity is usually thought to be the source of the difficulty (often afflicting brothers, sons, or husbands of female performers) the rite is designed to ameliorate. Having been presented to the deity, the offering is passed on to a specified human recipient, the ultimate receiver of the inauspiciousness or difficulty. According to Raheja, "the deity himself does not assimilate the inauspiciousness but acts only as an intermediary between the *jajman* and the *patra* [recipient] . . ." (ibid., 82). There is an identity between the deity and the human recipient: the recipient is seen as belonging to a class or group of people who resemble the deity responsible for the trouble. When the offering is given to an appropriate human recipient, this seems to enable the deity to receive the offering while the inauspiciousness is actually passed to the human recipient (ibid., 70). Instead of a deity, a specified kinsperson, also seen as the "source of the inauspiciousness," might receive the offering first before it is passed on to an ultimate recipient (ibid., 7).

This is a pattern reminiscent of one we have seen before. Although the *content* is certainly different, the *structure* of this series of acts is paralleled in Saiva ritual. The Saiva offering is positively, not negatively, valued, but it seems to be

associated with negativities nonetheless. Siva accepts the offering (or part of it) but the offering is then passed on, not to the human offerer, but to a quasi-divine entity who absorbs negativities. Canda is thus the structural equivalent of the human recipients of *dan*-borne inauspiciousness in Raheja's village. It is of interest, therefore, that at least one Saiva author characterizes the offering as *samarpana* and *dana* (Davis 199, 137).

Let us be as clear as possible about what is being said and not being said. Fundamental differences exist between the ritual cultures discussed previously in the chapter and that described by Raheja. Saiva ritual culture is soteriological in its basic thrust; it is concerned with the soul's final deliverance, not with the worldly goals inherent to the rites Raheja describes. The same is true of Jain and Vaisnava ritual cultures. All three of these traditions see the attainment of worldly benefits as at most a kind of by-product of ritual action that should have the supreme goal as its true aim. But it is surely

significant that, when ritual transactions are abstracted from their theological matrixes, we find that there are indeed structural similarities between such ostensibly different ritual cultures as Saiva Siddhanta and Raheja's village traditions. Leaving aside all justifications and rationales, in both cases the offering carries negativities that are borne past the presiding deity and deposited with a third party.

The same pattern can be seen in Jain ritual; the only difference is that the Jains push the logic to its furthest limits. From the encompassing ascetic perspective, a central theme in Jain worship is "shedding"; morally and spiritually dangerous materials are gotten rid of by passing them on, ultimately to a non-Jain human receiver. The whole point of the rite is renunciation, "getting rid" of the world. There is no ambiguity in the matter of the gift's return; the Tirthankar is completely non-transactional, and there can be no question of the offering's becoming as in the Pustimarga vehicle for the return of a deity's grace or blessing. Thus, as in Raheja's village, the gift cannot return. The non-Jain recipient, usually a temple *pujari*, becomes the structural equivalent of Saivism's Canda.

Among the Jains, worship (*puja*) is sometimes said to be a form of *dan*.<sup>18</sup> *Dan*, of course, is also given to living mendicants.<sup>19</sup> Jains certainly do not see *dan* as a transfer of inauspiciousness, but the gift *does* have certain negative associations. Take, for example, food, perhaps the most important gift received by mendicants. Food fuels the calamity of bodily existence, and is also associated with the sins inevitably occasioned by its production and preparation. The mendicant recipient is protected by asceticism. Mendicants take food from lay houses randomly (like a cow grazing) to ensure that these morally dubious actions were not performed at their instigation. In theory, they consume food without "enjoyment," regarding it as a mere means of keeping the body going while on the road to liberation. The Tirthankar represents the perfection of this principle. If the living mendicant takes without really taking, the worshiped Tirthankar takes nothing at all.

The logic of the situation is reminiscent of the dilemma of *dan*-style gifting to Brahmins as analyzed by Trautmann (1981, 285-88). Because of its implication of dependency, to accept giftseven from kings, and perhaps especially from

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kingscompromises the Brahmin's sense of his own superiority. This anxiety is transmuted into the idea that such gifts are spiritually dangerous; the Brahmin who accepts the fewest gifts is the most worthy and powerful, for the acceptance of gifts erodes the Brahmin's *tapas* (austerity). The greatest merit is therefore gained by the donor who gives to the Brahmin who is least inclined to take. Trautmann concludes:

Only the purest, most disinterested brahmin can accept gifts without danger to himself. But the purest brahmin does not solicit gifts or, better yet, will not accept. Pushed to its logical extreme, the gift finds no recipient. The brahmin, having rejected reciprocity in favor of an asymmetrical, hierarchical form of exchange as a basis on which he deigns to be a party to the social contract, abandons even this one-sided exchange for the individualistic self-sufficiency of the ascetic. The theory of the gift tends toward its own destruction. (ibid., 288)

Although he is certainly no Brahmin, the Tirthankar represents the full realization of the same logical involution. The ritual culture of Jainism reflects the exigencies of worshiping a being who apotheosizes asceticism; the greatest benefit results from gifting to one who cannot take gifts at all. The worshiper therefore cannot connect; he can only emulate.

### *Sacred Others*

We have two patterns before us. In one the gift returns; in the other it does not. They seem very different. Some ritual offerings take negative qualities away and keep them away. Others involve intimate reciprocity. Still others may fall somewhere in between. In this final section, I would like to propose that there is a relationship between them; using Raheja's materials as a background of reference, we can see them as variations on a theme. Krsna emerges as a being who is both highly transactional and transformative. Purified by him, worshipers then comeingle with him in ritual acts that express their highest ideal, which is consubstantial identity with him. But when offerings are made to a nontransactional or minimally transactional being, negativities cannot be destroyed. The logic of the ritual encounter then becomes different. Negativities must be passed onward; reciprocity becomes problematic. The crucial difference is in the character of the ritual "other," the sacred being who is the object of the rite.

What are sacred beings? Many things, but I would like to emphasize their roles as social "others" of a very special sort. In the flux of normal social life, a person's sense of self is constantly being formed, modified, and sustained through



interactions with social others. In the encounters constructed by ritual, human ritualists interact with extraordinary alters/objects of worship standing above and outside the ordinary traffic of social life. Here, too, the actor's sense of self is

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implicated in the interaction, for these encounters can and do generate a transformed sense of self as divested of afflictions, as lightened of the burdens of worldly existence, as loved, and even as redeemed. As to the nature of the transformation effected, all depends on the nature of the sacred other and the ritual culture that surrounds the encounter.

Raheja's *vrats* do not actually require the presence of sacred beings at all. But when such beings are involved they seem to function as *antagonistic others*. They are the source of troubles and afflictions, and the troubles they bring seem to emanate from their intrinsic nature as entities; the affliction somehow participates in the nature of its source. The ritualist's goal is getting rid of trouble; the affliction is disarticulated, loosened, and shed onto others. Because of the association between the affliction and the nature of the deity, there is a sense in which the ritual is a shedding, a getting-rid-of, the deity. Trouble is sent back to its source, although ultimately it is passed on to designated human others. Perhaps this is because the final human recipient stands in for the deity (for they are supposed to resemble each other), or possibly the gift appeases the god while the inauspiciousness it bears is passed onward; on present evidence it is difficult to say. But in any case, what *is* clear is that the offering bears negativity, that the negativity is associated with the deity, and that the act of giving is a passing on of the negativity to others.

The ritual culture of the Pustimarg is more familiar to students of what is called "Hinduism." Here the deity possesses transformative power. Here, too, the goal of the devotee's encounter is self-transformation, but it is not a shedding of negative qualities emanating from an antagonistic other, but a reciprocal exchange with a being who is an object of devotion. Such a deity functions as an *intimate other*. If negativity is involved, it is ameliorated through his sacred power. Given the deity's transactional and transformative nature, the gift can and should be returned to the giver. Intimate other is thus divine counter-giver, and reciprocity becomes the dominant theme of ritual.

The Tirthankar represents "pure" otherness, one might say, without presence. That he is really an "other" cannot be seriously doubted, for his image is seen, touched, anointed, addressed in prayer. But what separates the Tirthankar from the Pustimarg's Krsna and Raheja's godlings alike is that he is not a transactional presence. His worship is transformative, but not because worshipers share his nature and grace or because they send misfortune back to its source. Rather, one might say that his image serves as an *occasion* for reflexive (and intransitive) ritualizations. His person is disengaged and completely non-transactional; he represents a condition the worshiper hopes to achieve. This condition is itself non-transactional, and in the very nature of the case, the quality of non-transactionalness cannot be transmitted by means of transactions. Therefore, the Tirthankar is, as he must be, an *exemplary other*. He is the target only of love and emulation, but not of gifts. This is what comes of worshiping an absolute ascetic; the connection cannot be tangible, but only metaphoric or analogical.

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The materials on Saiva ritual present us with an interestingly mixed case. In its structure, Saiva worship recalls Raheja's *dan* pattern, with Canda designated as the ultimate offering-recipient. But Siva is no antagonist. Indeed, his grace is required for liberation, and he even receives the offerer's self; to this degree he resembles an intimate other. And yet we also see that his contact with the offering is minimal, and that he himself is minimally transformative, which is why the offering must be passed on to the demon-like Canda. This is in keeping with Siva's character as an ascetic, and, in this respect, the pattern seems more reminiscent of Jainism than of the Pustimarg. It may be that we are dealing here with a Tirthankar-like exemplary other whose patterns of worship have been overlain with a more classically devotional rationale. Perhaps this is an instance in which there is a disjunction between ritual roles and the surrounding symbolism; in this case a role-structure of transactional minimalism blended with a symbolism that includes some elements of devotional intimacy.

As we see, these distinctions have little to do with the alleged boundaries of "Jainism" or "Hinduism"; the patterns are neither Hindu nor Jain but variations on a deeper structure that is simply South Asian.

Notes

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1. For descriptions of the eightfold worship, see Babb 1988; Cort 1989, 341-95; Dundas 1992, 177-81; Humphrey and Laidlaw 1994.
2. My account is based on numerous observations of the rite as supplemented by Umravcand Jargad's *sarth* version of the text (1959). I also utilized two ordinary *snatra puja* manuals (*Snatra Puja* 1979 and n.d.), which I read through as I observed its performance. These were booklets in daily use in temples I frequented, found among the heaps of *puja* books kept for the convenience of worshipers.
3. The *siddhcakra* is a sacred figure portraying nine essential elements of Jainism: the five *parmeshthins* (worship-worthy beings), the "three jewels" of right faith, understanding, and conduct, plus right austerity. In the description to follow (and in the later discussion of Parsvanath's *five-kalyanak puja*), I designate both the Tirthankar's image and the *siddhcakra* which are treated alike as "the image."
4. A Tirthankar is usually a heavenly deity before his final lifetime on earth; on rare occasions a Tirthankar comes from hell.

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5. On *caityavandan* see Cort (1989, 341-57); on the *Sakra-stava* see *ibid.*, 351-52.
6. This is the only time at which dwellers in hell have the experience of seeing light.
7. When I saw this rite in 1990, its performance was abbreviated because of recent civil disturbances in Jaipur, and the temple *pujari* was the sole *puja* principal. Normally there would be several drawn from the city's lay Jain community.
8. This is preceded by a *snatra puja*, which is the standard opening for all major *pujas*.
9. Mahavir's career represents a partial exception to this rule. When he descended to earth for his final birth, he first entered the womb of a Brahman woman, and because a Tirthankar can only be born in a high-ranking Ksatriya family, Indra had to transfer him to the womb of a Ksatriya mother.
10. See Jaini, 1979, 162-63.
11. For a description, see Cort 1989, 330-33.
12. For Svetambar Jains *divali* commemorates Mahavir's liberation, but this is a rather unobtrusive part of the overall *divali* celebrations.
13. "I now," says the devotee, "do dedicate . . . my bodily faculties, my life, my soul, and its belongings, with my wife, my house, my children, my whole substance, and my own self" (Barz 1976, 85).
14. The Pustimargi initiate is, of course, also a renouncer. But the initiate then recovers what he renounced, which has now become sanctified by Krsna.
15. Tirthankars are also regally generous, but obviously not after they renounce the world. The shift from redistributive kingship to kingship on another plane seems to be signaled by the year of gift-giving that occurs before a Tirthankar's initiation.
16. Digambar Jains use the same term for the remnants of worship.
17. Siva, of course, comes in different versions. As Richard H. Davis has pointed out to me (personal communication),

- other Tamil traditions celebrate a much less yogic and more interventionalist Siva than do the *agamas* whose Siva he describes.
18. For example, a contemporary mendicant author (Hemprabhasri, a Khartar Gacch nun) states precisely that one obtains the spiritual benefit of *dan* (*dan dharm*) from performing the offering (*arpan*) of material things (*dravya*) in *puja* (1977, 26). Moreover, in the texts surveyed by R. Williams, *puja* is considered to be *dana* "in the largest sense," and the giving of *dana* to mendicants, in turn "is regarded as a *puja* of the *atithi* [the ascetic guest]" (Williams 1963, 119, 216).
19. To this I should add, however, that in ordinary discourse Jaipur Jains tend to avoid the term *dan* in reference to items presented to mendicants. This is because of the word's implications of charity.

## Chapter Nine

### Sramanas against the Tamil Way Jains As Others in Tamil Saiva Literature

Indira Viswanathan Peterson

#### Jains and Saivas in the Tamil Region

The story of the rediscovery of the classical texts of Tamil literature in the modern era begins with a day in 1880 when, Selam Ramasami Mutaliar, a government official who was also a man of letters, gave U. V. Swaminatha Iyer, rising Tamil scholar and college professor, a handwritten copy of the first chapter of a work entitled *Civakacintamani*, and asked him to explain the text. To his chagrin, Swaminatha Iyer found that his impeccable training in Tamil literature had not prepared him to read this text, which was entirely unfamiliar to him. Swaminatha Iyer discovered that the *Civakacintamani* was a long poem by Tiruttakkatevar, a Jain poet. He also learned that the tenth-century work, which earlier had been regarded as one of the finest poems in the Tamil language, was known only to scholars in the small Tamil Jain community. The discovery of the *Cintamani* spurred Swaminatha Iyer on to his illustrious career as the discoverer and editor of the long-neglected classics of the so-called Cankam corpus of ancient Tamil poetry, the earliest portion of which dates back to the first century B.C.E. (Zvelebil 1992, 194-97). 1

Embedded within the narrative of the recovery of the classical literature of the Tamils is a second narrative, one concerning Saiva-Jain relations in the Tamil region. The nineteenth-century scholar's ignorance of the ancient Jain text was the product of a taboo that dates back at least to the eighteenth century, imposed by

zealous Tamil Saiva scholars and religious leaders on non-Saiva texts, which category encompassed not only Jain works such as the *Cintamani*, but also the pre-sectarian poems of the Cankam corpus. 2 The Jains are important actors in the history and culture of the Tamil people. They participated in the mainstream of Tamil learning and literature in its formative period, and continued to contribute to it well into the late medieval era. The eighteenth-century taboo on Jain literature, and on Cankam classical literature (which included works by Jains), is only the latest chapter in a history of Saiva antagonism toward the Jains in the Tamil country that stretches over a period of nearly thirteen hundred years. In fact, there is reason to believe that anti-Jain polemic was an ingredient in the rise of the Tamil Saiva sect as the dominant religious affiliation of the population of Tamilnadu, from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, if not earlier, to the twentieth century (Zvelebil 1975).

Jains are consistently portrayed as hated "others" in Tamil Saiva literature from the sixth century onwards. In the hymn collection known as the *Tevaram*, Appar (Tirunavukkaracar) and Campantar (Tirunanacampantar), the saint-poets known as "Nayanar" (leader, master) who led the Tamil Saiva *bhakti* movement in the sixth and seventh centuries, energetically condemn Jains and Buddhists for their doctrines and practices.3 Of the two major non-Vedic religions, Jainism bears the brunt of the Saiva poet-saints' polemic. According to the medieval Tamil Saiva hagiographies and *puranas* (mythological narratives) Appar and Campantar vanquished the Jain monks who had been persecuting them, won the support of kings

and commoners for Saivism, and drove Jainism out of the Tamil region.

As Richard H. Davis (this volume) points out, the Saiva representation or construction of Jainism in the Tamil region has been by and large uncritically accepted by modern historians, and has formed the basis of what he calls the "standard narrative" of the religious and cultural history of the Tamil region in modern scholarship. Recent work by Champakalakshmi (1978), Thapar (1987), Davis (1991 and this volume), and Orr (this volume) has shown how important a critical examination of the "standard narrative" is for a more reliable picture of Tamil religious and cultural history. The aim of my own essay is twofold. I wish to investigate the causes and circumstances which led Saivas in the Tamil region to undertake an active polemic against Jains as their principal rivals, and to reformulate and sustain that polemic over a long period of time. I also hope to establish the particularity of the relationship between Saivas and Jains in the Tamil linguistic-cultural region. I have argued that the negative representation of Jains was an important part of a process of self-definition and consolidation of power for the Tamil Saiva sect. For Tamil Saivas Jains were not only a threatening rival group, but a very useful foil against which to establish the superiority of the Saiva religion. I have suggested further that the attack on Jains was part of a larger Tamil Saiva project, of fashioning a communal identity for Tamils, based on the celebration of Saiva sectarian ideals and the exclusion of non-Saiva ones. Detailed discussion of the treatment of Jains in Tamil Saiva literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries falls outside the scope of this essay.<sup>4</sup>

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Our understanding of Saiva attempts to marginalize Jainism in Tamilnadu needs to be greatly refined. Although Saiva sectarian texts offer detailed accounts of the Nayanar saints' confrontation with Jain opponents, resulting in a decisive victory for the Saivas, the narratives themselves were composed several centuries after the era of the Nayanars. It appears that the anti-Jain propaganda that the poet-saints carried on in the Pallava period was, for a number of reasons, resumed in the Tamil Saiva project of the canonization of sacred texts and the production of hagiographical narratives in the Cola period, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The hymns of the Saiva saints are replete with graphic invective against Buddhists and Jains as hated rivals (Peterson 1989, part 1: chap. 2). While it is in its own way programmatic (as I will show below), the Nayanar's impassioned critique appears to be driven by the rhetoric of immediacy, the needs of appealing directly to an immediate audience. This is in contrast to the rhetoric of the Tamil Saiva texts of the Cola period. In the *Tiruttontarapurāṇam* (The narrative of the holy servants), popularly known as the *Periya Purāṇam* (PP) (The Great Narrative), the celebrated twelfth century hagiography of the sixty-three Saiva Nayanar saints, Cekkilar presents full-blown narratives of persecution (of the Nayanars by Jains), miracles (performed by Siva and his saints), and ultimate triumph for Saivism (represented by the conversion of kings to Saivism), as major events in the lives of Appar and Campantar. (PP, Book Five [TNNP], and Book VI [TNCMNP]).<sup>5</sup> Regardless of the reality or otherwise of a Jain threat to Tamil Saivism in the medieval era, it seems that medieval apologists for Tamil Saivism found the narrative of confrontation with the Jains conceived as a glorious, heroic myth, a constructed "history" of Saiva triumph over Jain monks and doctrines useful for establishing the legitimacy of their own religion.

The Tamil Saiva antagonism towards Jains is in some ways an outgrowth of an older, pervasive conflict between cults based on Vedic-Brahmanical religion and Buddhism and Jainism, the so-called *sramana* (Strivers (for liberation)) or heterodox religions.<sup>6</sup> Tamil Saiva attitudes have much in common with those of Gupta period (fourth to sixth century A.D.) Brahmanical cults and sects all over India, in whose *purāṇa* texts, according to Wendy O'Flaherty (1983) we find well-developed ideological positions and polemical arguments directed against the *sramana* sects as heretics (*pasanda*). Like their Sanskrit *purāṇa* counterparts, the early Tamil Saiva texts often lump Buddhists and Jains together as heretics. Yet, Appar and Campantar reserve their most vigorous attacks for the Jains, and their condemnation of their opponents exudes the distinctive flavor of the political and social history of the Tamil region in the sixth and seventh centuries Tamilnadu. In this the Tamil texts also differ from the confrontations of philosophers of various Hindu schools with the *sramana* sects.

In the Indian context *bhakti* devotional texts (and *bhakti*-based sectarian texts), written mainly in the regional languages, are notable for the readiness with which they reveal their affiliation with particular places, local events, and regional society and culture (Ramanujan 1973). It would be instructive, for instance, to

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contrast Saiva-Jain relations in Tamilnadu with the contestation between the two religions in Gujarat, or in Tamilnadu's neighboring regions of Karnataka and Andhra (e.g, Sumitrabai and Zydenbos 1991; Narayana Rao 1990). Here, I only hope to show that the anti-Jain rhetoric, which has repeatedly surfaced in Tamil Saiva literature, is part of the Tamil Saiva effort to establish the identity of Tamil culture and Tamil Saiva culture. Until the modern era, conflict with Jains, and, even more importantly, accounts of such conflict, have been an integral part of the self-presentation of the Tamil Saiva sect as the authentic representative of a Tamil regional culture.

## The Jain Contribution to Tamil Literature and Culture

Before outlining the Saiva polemic against the Jains, I will give a brief overview of Jain participation in Tamil literature and culture (Chakravarti 1974; JTL; DLT; Zvelebil 1973, 1992). Epigraphic and archeological evidence attest the presence and popularity of Jainism in the Tamil country at a very early date, and continuing into the medieval period (Desai 1957; Champakalakshmi 1978). Jains wrote some of the classics of Tamil literature, and contributed to Tamil scholarship throughout their history in the region.

Early Jainism in the Tamil region appears to have been a variant of Digambara Jainism, with distinctive features of its own (Desai 1957; Orr this volume; Champakalakshmi 1978). The distribution of the later Jain inscriptions over a wide area, from Arcot in the north to Madurai and Tirunelveli in the south (Champakalakshmi 1978) shows that the Jain monks and communities flourished all over the Tamil region, including remote areas in the countryside. The references in the *Tevaram* corroborate other evidence for flourishing Jain monastic communities in the major urban centers of Kanchipuram, and Madurai in the Pandyan kingdom, during the Pallava era. The inscriptions reveal popular support for Jainism, from people of diverse class and caste backgrounds, with a preponderance of merchants and warriors among the more powerful patrons. Jains in the Tamil country received patronage not only from Jain kings, but also from kings with other sectarian affiliations, and these included Pandya and Cola monarchs of the Pallava and Cola period, when Saivism had risen to dominance (Champakalakshmi 1978). But the height of Jain power in the Tamil country was undoubtedly in the the reign of the Kalabhras (third to sixth centuries), a dynasty of kings of warrior origin, who invaded the Tamil region from north. Unlike the Pallavas and kings of other dynasties of the Tamil region, the Kalabhras favored the *sramana* religions, and Jainism in particular, supposedly to the extent of suppressing Vedic-Brahmanical cults and sects (Nilakantha Sastri 1935, 1:119-21; 1947, 134; Stein 1980, 76-77).

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Under Kalabhra patronage, Tamil Jains produced literature in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit, and Tamil. The notion of an academy of poets (*cankam*, Indo-Aryan *sangha*), later collectively applied to the authors of the early Tamil anthologies, appears to have been modeled on the Jain academy established in Madurai. Jains are among the most important authors of Tamil literature between the first and sixth centuries (JTL; DLT). In this period, Jains introduced didactic genres into Tamil literature, producing the most important ethical texts in Tamil, including several works among the eighteen shorter classics (DLT; JTL). In this group is included Tiruvalluvar's *Kural* (or *Tirukkural*), the best known ethical text in Tamil.

Beginning with the Jain poet Ilankovatikal's (the name indicates that author was a monk) classic epic *Cilappatikaram* (fifth century); Jain and Buddhist authors also led the way in the production of long narrative epic poems in Tamil. Of the five great *kappiyam* (long poems) three (including the *Civakacintamani*) are by Jain authors, and two by Buddhists (JTL). As we shall see, even Jain religious works profoundly influenced non-Jain Tamil works, while such texts as the *Cilappatikaram* and *Civakacintamani* set the standard for Tamil *kappiyam* narratives, regardless of religious affiliation.

While the *Cilappatikaram* (fifth century) is permeated with the Jaina ethos, Ilanikovatikal, its Jain author, paints a picture of dialogue and mutual tolerance among diverse Brahmanical and *sramana* groups in the Tamil country (Chakravarti 1974; Parthasarathy 1993). In the later narrative poems, Jains and Buddhists undertake polemical attacks on each other, more often than they do with the Brahmanical sects, although, as James Ryan (this volume) has established, Jain authors were expert at using rhetorical strategies in literary texts to subvert Brahmanical ideas without openly engaging in polemic. 7 It is possible that anti-Saiva texts by Jains and Buddhist were destroyed in the medieval period (Zvelebil 1992).

Jain Tamil scholarship continued well into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The most important Tamil grammars, dictionaries, and technical treatises were written by Jains. To cite only two examples, Pavananti's *Nannul* (twelfth century) is the standard Tamil Grammar, and Amitacakarar's *Yapparunikalam* (tenth-eleventh centuries) is the authoritative work on Tamil prosody (JTL). The positive valuation of the grammars, treatises, and long poems, at least among nonsectarian literary scholars, is confirmed by the many commentaries written on them by Saiva and Vaisnava scholars (JTL).

## The Saiva Polemical Accounts and Arguments

### *Jains in the Tevaram Hymns of Appar and Campantar*

*Puja*, the worship of images according to rites specified in sectarian Agama texts, was one of the cornerstones of the Tamil *bhakti* cults, the earliest of the many regional devotional movements. In the Pallava era, royal patronage of Agamic worship of the

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*linga*-image of Siva, particularly at shrines, led to the construction of structural temples all over Tamilnadu. Through their hymns and pilgrimages, the authors of the *Tevaram*, the Nayanars Appar, Campantar (sixth-seventh centuries), and Cuntarar (eighth century) helped popularize the cult of Siva in the entire region. 8

The Nayanars call their hymns "*tamil*" (Tamil hymn), or "*pattu*" (decad), indicating with the latter term the number of verses in the standard hymn.<sup>9</sup> In the later tradition, the hymns are known as *patikam* (verse, poem). The majority of Campantar's 383 hymns and Appar's 313 are dedicated to one of the more than 267 shrines that they visited, especially in the Kaveri delta, the area with the the densest concentration of shrines.

Although the *Tevaram* collection was canonized, and the saints' hymns continue to be used as sacred texts in the worship ritual in Siva temples in Tamilnadu, they are equally valued by Tamil Saivas as songs of personal experience, intimately linked with narratives of the lives of their charismatic saint-leaders, and therefore as authentic documents of personal and sectarian history (Peterson 1994, and 1986). The saints' hymns are, above all, outpourings of personal devotion for Siva. But in their verses the poets also celebrate Siva's sacred places, his temples, and devotees, and the ways of expressing devotion to him. Rich with the detail of landscape, folklore, and local history, the songs praise ecstatic love for God, expressed in dance and song, as well as the more controlled mode of ritual worship. Condemnation of the *sramana* religions and their practitioners forms a significant piece of this mosaic of themes.

Appar focuses his critique on Jain monks, castigating them and their religion, and laments his own wasted years as a Jain monk (Peterson 1989, 283-301). His poetry is pervaded by a sense of sin and guilt, and he views his earlier faith in Jainism as his greatest sin. Campantar routinely devotes the tenth verse in his hymns to invective against the Jains, either by themselves, or along with Buddhists. In a cycle of hymns dedicated to the Siva temple in Madurai (Alavay), the capital of the Pandyan kingdom, he condemns the Jain monks and alludes to debates and ordeals in which he confronted them (Peterson 1989, 272-80).<sup>10</sup> In two songs in the Madurai cycle (TVR III: 305, and 366), the saint asks Siva for his favor for defeating Jains in debate, and in a third, he assures the Pandyan queen of his ability to defeat them (III: 297). The refrain of a hymn set in Madurai (TVR III: 309) is: "Make the flame / kindled by . . . Jains to burn me, / slowly consume the Pandyan king instead" (Peterson 1989, 276-77).

### *Appar and Campantar's Charges against Jains*

Although Campantar often links Buddhists and Jains in his hymns, he reserves his strongest and most specific criticisms for the Jains. Like Appar, Campantar refers to direct contact with Jains alone.<sup>11</sup> The Nayanars are also careful to distinguish between the Buddhists and the Jains, referring to them by distinct terms, and describing them in carefully differentiated ways. For the *Tevaram* authors the

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Buddhists are *cakkiyar* (Sanskrit *sakya*), *puttar* (*buddha*), or *potiyar* (from *bodhi*-), and *terar* (*thera*). In the hymns the term *camanar*, which is a Tamil multiform of Sanskrit *sramana* (he who strives) is applied almost exclusively to the Jains, indicating perhaps the Nayanars' image of the Jains as monks given to extreme ascetic practices. Other terms include *amanar* (the nude ones), and *pintiyar* (those who wear the *asoka* leaf). <sup>12</sup> In sum, the poets' descriptions of the Jains and Buddhists reveal an intimate knowledge of the two groups. Campantar pairs Buddhists and Jains in his verses as much for contrast as for likeness: ". . . the Jains who pluck out their hair / and the Buddhist monks who wear the ochre robe" (TVR I:59); "Buddhists who eat seated / and the Jains who eat standing" (TVR I:99. 10).

As Wendy O'Flaherty (1983, 111) has pointed out, from a very early period, for the practitioners of the Vedic religion and its offshoots. ". . . the question of heresy turned upon the acceptance of the Vedas." However, as she rightly notes (111 - 12), for them "this was not a matter of dogma, but a matter of ritual." By the Gupta period, *pasandas* (heretics) were those who rejected Vedic ritual and the world view in which the proper performance of Vedic ritual supported and maintained an ordered universe. Lastly, heretics are deluded people who follow erroneous paths (O'Flaherty 1983, 110).<sup>13</sup>

Like their counterparts in other Brahmanical sects and cults, the Tamil Nayanars appear to view Buddhists and Jains as persons deluded by false doctrine. But, as I will show below, the Tamil Saivas redefined ritual and Veda to fit their Siva-centered world view, and for them false doctrine is not just denial of the Veda and the Vedic sacrificial ritual, but the denial of Siva as the true God. As the following excerpts from the Saiva hymns indicate, in the Saiva view, Jains and Buddhists are deluded because their doctrines do not lead to knowledge of Siva: "The Lord of the universe, / who is beyond the deluded doctrines of the base Buddhist monks . . ." (TVR III: 378. 10); "Siva who concealed his great nature / from the false monks who shroud themselves in robes (Buddhists) / and those who eat standing" (Jains) (TVR II: 327. 10).<sup>14</sup>

Appar frequently deploys his own experience as a Jain monk to contrast a life without devotion to Siva and one which is pervaded by such devotion:

When I think of long years spent  
in following the contradictory teachings of the Jains  
I feel faint.  
When I think day and night  
of the honey who dwells in holy Aiyaru,  
town of jasmine groves,  
I am filled with sweet delight.  
(TVR IV: 39.7)

A shaven monk, I stood by the words  
of the base, ignorant Jains.

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I was a hypocrite, running away  
and bolting the door  
at the sight of lotus-eyed young women.  
A miserable sinner  
who did not know the Lord of Arur  
who saved my soul and possessed me  
I was one who starves to death,  
begging for food in a deserted town.  
(TVR IV: 5.8)

While the verses are undoubtedly genuinely confessional, we must note that in the first verse the contrast between "contradictory teachings" and "sweet delight" makes for persuasive, affective rhetoric. The second verse is part of a decade in which Appar clinches each verse with a proverbial expression for waste and futility; here Appar puts the powerful language and imagery of folk wisdom to effective use in condemning Jain practices.

The Nayanars' most serious charge against the heterodox monks is that they are not simply deluded, but actively delude others. In fact, Campantar and Appar most often refer to their opponents (especially the Jains) by strong terms of abuse such as *ettar*, *kaiyar*, and *kuntar* (deceivers, rogues, wicked or base men).<sup>15</sup> Implicit in the unrelenting invective in the poems, and these strong terms of abuse, is the poets' complaint that the heterodox monks are successful in recruiting followers for their false doctrine, drawing them away from the true path of Saiva devotion preached and practiced by the Nayanars.

Jain asceticism is a major target of the Saiva critique. It is possible, as has been suggested frequently, that the *Tevaram* poets' aversion to extreme asceticism is rooted in those aspects of Tamil Saiva religion in which nature and the world of the senses are celebrated.<sup>16</sup> I would argue, however, that the principal ground for the saints' condemnation of Jain

asceticism is their firm belief that devotion to Siva alone will lead to liberation from *karma*. From such a perspective, ascetic practice, and Jain asceticism in particular, is futile and meaningless, especially since it is premised on the rejection of God (Siva). Efficacy of means for liberation from karma-rebirth is the operative principle in Indian religious practice. For the Jains, asceticism is the paramount means for ending the cycle of birth and death. For the *bhakti* saints knowledge of Siva is the end of religion, and the practice of devotion to Siva is the sole means toward this end, for liberation is not possible without Siva's salvific grace.

The Saiva poets' condemnation of the ascetic path at least as this is defined in Jain monasticism is dramatized in verses such as the following, similar to the ones in TVR IV: 5, the poem in which Appar vehemently condemns his past as a Jain monk: "Fool heart, why did you torture / yourself with false vows / thinking it a great penance / to smear the body with bitter powders?" (TVR IV: 39.5). In other verses (in the same hymn, and elsewhere) Appar draws vivid portraits of Jain

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monks walking about wearing mats or *asoka* leaves, and carrying sling bags and peacock feather whisks. 17 Campantar, too, repeatedly refers to details of Jain and Buddhist ascetic practice. These include, for the Jains: nudity, plucking out the scalp hair (*uloccu*), not bathing, not brushing the teeth, not eating at night (i.e., fasting in the evening), eating while standing, eating (i.e., receiving food given as alms) with both hands, and eating in silence; and for the Buddhists: begging, tonsure, and eating fish and meat. 18 The tone and contexts of these references makes it abundantly clear that the Saivas condemn the practices as unclean, offensive, and barbaric.

Appar speaks disparagingly of "the shameless Jain monks" (TVR VI: 313.10), "naked Jains who fast by night," "wicked monks who eat in barbaric ways," and "naked Jains who eat in silence" (TVR IV: 102. 2, 3, and 5). He condemns "the weak and filthy Jains with their yellowing teeth" (IV: 39.4), and laments:

I was a deadly snake, dancing to the tunes  
of evil men, filthy, foul-mouthed, I wandered aimlessly,  
begging for food, eating with both hands, truly a wretch.  
(TVR IV: 5.5)19

Campantar's revulsion for Jain practices comes across clearly in the cumulative rhetoric of such descriptions as: "Do not listen to the words of the mad Jain monks / who wear mats, and pluck their hair, and eat their food standing" (TVR I:69. 10).

In a cultural context in which taboos regarding food and eating play a central role in the definition of communities, the Nayanars' criticism of the monks' eating habits forms a powerful argument in the Tamil Saiva discourse of othering. Their objection to the Jain ascetic practices of refraining from bathing, washing, and otherwise caring for the body stems not from an obsession with personal hygiene, but from a religious aesthetic in which bathing is an act of purification in preparation for ritual acts, and a central element of the Saiva worship ritual itself. Saiva devotees are required to bathe before worship, and the full-fledged rite of *puja* involves the bathing (*snana*) and anointment (*abhiseka*) of the *linga*-image in various degrees of elaboration (Davis 1991, 64-69, and 148-50). The *Tevaram* hymns contain many loving descriptions of devotees bathing, and the poets celebrate the ritual baths of the *linga*, paying special attention to the bathing of the image in the "five products of the cow" (*anaintu*), which include milk and clarified butter (*ghee*) (e.g., TVR VI: 301.1, and V:209, 213; Peterson 1989, 112, 258-63).

It is also in the context of ritual, and of *mantra*, the sequence of sacred syllables that is capable of effecting the transformation desired by the practitioner, that the Veda plays a significant role in the poets' arguments against the Jains. Campantar, who is a Brahman versed in Vedic learning, often in the hymns connected with the Madurai controversy charges the Jain monks with rejecting

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the Vedic sacrifice denying the authority of the Veda as scripture, the generic charge against heretics (TVR III: 305. 1, 4; III: 366. 1, 3). But the hymns are distinguished chiefly by the poet's insistence on the uniqueness, the purity and aesthetic perfection, and, relating to all of these qualities, the *Vedic authority* of Agamic Saiva *puja*. Neither image



worship, nor the expression of personal devotion were exclusive features of the Saiva cult; these were features that the Saivas shared, not only with their Vaisnava counterparts, but with the Jains and Buddhists as well (Cort 1992). The Nayanars must fight hard to prove the uniqueness of Saiva ritual, and, as I will show below, the Veda is the prime weapon in their arsenal.

A final complaint of Campantar's is that the Jains know neither Sanskrit nor Tamil, but recite their own texts in Prakrit:

With Aran [Siva] of Alavay by my side,  
I will easily defeat those filthy Jain monks  
who wander like elephants in rut,  
. . . and mutilate the good Sanskrit of the Agama and mantra  
texts,  
loudly declaiming in the corrupt Prakrit tongue. . . .  
those blind fools with names like  
Candusena, Indusena, Dharmasena,  
dark Kandusena and Kanakasena,  
who roam about like apes, and know  
neither good Tamil nor the Sanskrit language.  
(III: 297.2, 3)

By claiming that the *camanar* monks know neither Tamil nor Sanskrit, Campantar wishes to establish that they are alien not only to the cultural universe represented by the Sanskrit language, but also to the culture of the Tamil language and region as well. Their very names, he seems to be saying, do not sound like good Tamil names, that is, the names of Tamils who know at least good Tamil, or Sanskrit, or, preferably, like Campantar himself, both languages. 20 In this argument, we see the ultimate thrust of the Nayanars' anti-Jain polemic: The language, the aesthetic, and the cultural practices of the Tamil Saivas are the natural flowering and consummation of a Tamil culture that includes and encompasses Vedic religion. The only way to participate in this synthetic culture, to be Tamil in the fullest sense, is to practice Saiva *bhakti*. The *sramana* monks, the Jains (*camanar*, *amanar*) in particular, are inimical to Tamil culture itself. To save people from the delusive teachings and evil influence of the Jains is to bring them to a truer realization of their Tamil identity and cultural heritage.

The Nayanars did not rely on invective alone to persuade their intended audience of the authenticity of their claim. Indeed, in the *Tevaram* hymns they devote their major energies to setting up links and equations among originally

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unrelated elements in the Tamil society and culture of their era, thus constructing a Saiva *bhakti* version of Tamilness that is quite different from the Tamil identities of previous eras (Peterson 1989, 19-59). In the following section, I will summarize the salient points in Appar and Campantar's arguments about Sanskrit, Tamil, and the Veda, showing how their redefinition of these concepts, and therefore of the semantic fields of these words, might have aided the Saivas in their project of excluding Jains from Tamil culture.

It has been suggested that Campantar had genuine grounds for labeling his Jain opponents as aliens to Tamil culture, since the particular Jains he encountered might have been Jains from the Karnataka region to the north of Tamilnadu, who had newly settled in the Tamil region (Narayana Ayyar 1939: chap. 10; Somasundaram 1986, 209-11; Peterson 1989, 10). A recent evaluation of the inscriptional evidence (Champakalakshmi 1978) shows, however, that major influxes of Jains from Karnataka took place *after* Campantar's time, in the eighth and ninth centuries. Moreover, the overwhelming evidence of continuing contributions by Jains to literature and scholarship in the Tamil language during and after the Pallava era reduces the force of the "Karnataka (non-Tamil) Jains" hypothesis. We cannot assume that the Jains suddenly stopped participating in Tamil culture even as the Saiva *bhakti* cult *began* to assert itself. It is much more likely that the Nayanars found it advantageous to exclude their most powerful rivals from their reformulation of Tamil culture. 21

A curious aspect of Campantar's argument is his claim that the Jain monks do not know Sanskrit. All the evidence points to the contrary. Jains in the Tamil country wrote in Sanskrit as well as Prakrit and Tamil; we know, for instance, that Prakrit works were translated into Sanskrit in Jain monasteries in the Tamil region, such as the one at Pataliputra (Tirupattirippuliyur), where Appar himself had spent some years as a Jain monk. It would seem that Campantar has a very specific definition of knowledge of Tamil and Sanskrit, and that the Jains' knowledge of texts and languages does

not fit into his definition. In fact, the Saiva poet's anxiety to include knowledge of Sanskrit as a criterion for Tamilness itself calls for comment. As we shall see, Tamil, Sanskrit, Agamas, Vedas, Brahmans, and Vellalas are all brought together in a new synthesis in the Nayanars' vision of Tamil culture.

*Tamil, Veda, and Agama, and the Jain Controversy in the Tevaram Hymns*

The Saiva project of cultural redefinition arose from the configuration of major social, economic, and political change that took place in the Tamil region in the transition from the Kalabhra era to the establishment of the Pallava kingdom, during the three centuries or so preceding the activity of the Nayanar poets. In the political sphere, the rule of the Kalabhras marked a transition from the fragmented chiefdoms and the three Kingdoms (Cera, Cola, and Pandya) of the

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Cankam and post-Cankam periods to the Pallava empire, which lasted from the sixth through the eighth centuries in the greater part of the south Indian peninsula. In the early Pallava era Saiva *bhakti*, to a greater extent and on a larger scale than the parallel movement of the Vaisnava Alvar poet-saints, developed in the by-now largely agrarian region of the Kaveri delta. (Peterson 1989, 8-18).

The rise of Saiva temple religion in the Kaveri plain is best explained with reference to Burton Stein's hypothesis of a "brahman-Vellala alliance" that was formed in the Kaveri delta region in the sixth and seventh centuries (Stein 1980). Burton Stein notes that there were major shifts in land use patterns during the Kalabhra age, and Tamilnadu gradually shifted from small areas of sharply differentiated ecotypes, (identified in classical Tamil poetry in terms of five landscapes: hill, field, seashore, pasture, and wilderness) ruled by small chiefs (*natan*), to a greatly expanded use of land for agriculture (mainly rice-cultivation) in the riverine plains. Desiring to establish a kingdom on the Gupta model, the Pallavas who were presumably of non-Tamil origin found it convenient to support the settled populations of the plains in pursuing their agricultural activity, and to help them resist the incursions of landless warriors. Settling large numbers of Brahmans in a number of *brahmadeya* (Brahman gift) villages in the riverine plains was one of the strategies the Pallavas adopted for creating cultural homogeneity, and a harmonious synthesis of Sanskritic and local ideologies.

The *brahmadeyas* functioned as centers of Vedic-Brahmanical religion and Sanskritic education; but the Brahmans, some of whom were recruited from among the local populations, were not "aliens" to the Tamil language and culture. Instead, they functioned as active agents of cultural synthesis, adapting the peasant culture of the plains and the culture of the Brahman village to each other. The interests of Pallava-era Brahmans, practising Vedic ritual, and settled in prosperous *brahmadeyas* in the Kaveri delta, coincided with those of the peasant groups, especially the high-caste Vellala landowners and agriculturalists of the delta, whose political and economic dependence on settled cultivation in large areas of land was rapidly increasing. The convergence of interests found its expression in the expansion of the worship of Siva and Visnu and in the promotion of Agamic temple religion (Stein 1980, 83). While some groups of Brahmans performed Vedic sacrifices, a different class of Brahmans, trained in Agamic ritual, served as priests in the shrines of Siva and Visnu; and structural temples for Siva and Visnu sprang up everywhere in the Pallava domain, but especially in the Kaveri delta.

The contexts and content of the *Tevaram* hymns fully support Stein's hypothesis. Although the medieval hagiographical texts assign to the sixty-three saints (some historical, some legendary) origins in many strata and segments of pre-Pallavan and Pallavan Tamil society, the group is dominated by saints from the agrarian caste groups, especially by the high-ranking Vellalas, and by small chiefs allied to these agriculturalists. Of the three poet-saints who led the Tamil Saiva *bhakti* movement, two (Campantar and Cuntarar) were Brahmans, one (Appar)

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was a Vellala. Campantar identifies himself as a Vaidika (Vedic scholar) Brahman of the Kaundinya *gotra* from the Brahman settlement of Cirkali in the Kaveri delta, whereas Cuntarar was an Adisaiva Brahman, a member of the temple priest caste. The group of the three revered preceptors (*muvar mutalikal*) of the Tamil Saiva tradition neatly embodies the Brahman-Vellala synthesis, expressed as the marriage of peasant interests with those of Vedic Brahmans and temple priests.

Campantar claims to have combated politically powerful Jain monks in the Pandyan region. In the hagiographical

narrative, Appar's confrontation with Jains, said to have taken place in the northern part of Tamilnadu, results in the Saivas winning the Pallava over from Jain influence. The bulk of the saints' hymns, however, are not bids for royal patronage. These songs are set in shrines in the Kaveri delta, where Appar and Campantar appear to have concentrated their efforts on addressing peasant groups and other sharers in the agrarian order. The Jains, by contrast, were supported mainly by unsettled warriors like the Kalabhras, in an "alliance" in which neither land, nor agricultural interests played a central part (Stein 1980, 79-80).

Let us look at the ramifications of the Brahman-Vellala alliance as they unfold in the views the Nayanars express on the Veda, temple ritual, and Tamil culture in their hymns. Both Appar and Campantar celebrate Brahmans, *brahmadeyas*, Vedic sacrifice and the four Vedas (*nanmarai*), along with their ancillary literature, the six *angas* (*arankam*), in evocative descriptions such as this one, by Campantar: "Everywhere in this town (Cirkali, Campantar's native Brahman settlement) the sky is clouded / with fragrant smoke from the holy sacrifices / of brahmans who preserve the noble Vedas." (I.75.6). 22 Nevertheless, for the Saiva saints Siva's name in the form of the Saiva sectarian *mantra* formula "*namah sivaya*" (Hail Siva!) is the only *mantra* invested with salvific power, and Campantar considers the Agamic *puja* ritual, directed towards the saving God, as the only ritual that can be efficacious for the devotee, whose ultimate goal is to receive Siva's grace.

The relationship between Vedic *mantras* and Siva's name as *the mantra* is clearly illustrated in Campantar's celebrated poem in praise of the power of the *namah sivaya* mantra: "It guides to the good path / all those who melt with love / and flow with tears as they chant it. / It is the essence of the four Vedas. / Chant our Lord's name; say, 'Hail Siva!' ( TVR III: 307.1).23 As a refrain that occurs in the Vedic litany *Satarudriya samhita*, and as a formula that forms part of the recitation of that Vedic text in the Agamic ritual, "*namah sivaya*" is indeed a *Vedic mantra*. But for the Saiva devotee its power does not simply derive from its location in a Vedic canonical text, but from its magical connection with Siva, to which he or she now has direct access. While only Brahmans may chant the Vedic text, and only in ritual contexts, all Saiva devotees regardless of caste or gender are privy to the *namah sivaya mantra*, and all are urged to recite it with great emotion ( . . . flow with tears as they chant it). In effect, "the essence of the Veda" displaces the Vedic text itself.24

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In the Nayanars' argument, Agamic *puja* similarly displaces Vedic ritual. Saiva *puja* is both a public and a private ritual, and is capable of being expanded from the simplest to the most complex form. However, as Richard H. Davis has aptly described it (1991, 38) daily worship (performed by the devotee) "contains a synopsis of the entire Saiva system of ritual." The aesthetic of *puja* permeates the *Tevaram*. As Appar puts it, addressing Siva: "I have never failed to worship you / with flowers and incense and water, / never failed to sing you in melodious Tamil songs" (TVR IV: 1.6). 25 Nevertheless, the shadow of the Veda is never far from Tamil Saiva religion. As the central element of the Saiva Siddhanta philosophical and theological system, and thus of Tamil Saiva soteriology, Agamic ritual ensures the perpetuation of the Vedic religion's emphasis on the instrumentality and efficacy of ritual (Davis 1991). Both forms of ritual are transformative, that is, they can evoke transformation in the practitioner; however, for the Tamil Saiva, Agamic Saiva *puja* alone can evoke the transformation that a devotee seeks.

As often as Campantar alludes to his Brahman and Vedic affiliation, he proudly identifies himself as a Tamil poet and author of *tamil pattu* (hymn-decads in the Tamil language) for Siva (e.g., TVR. II: 297.11). He also refers to the use of Tamil hymns, along with Sanskrit mantras, in Agamic temple worship ritual (TVR I:77.4; Peterson 1989, 52-59). From the Tamil Saiva devotional perspective, Tamil verse composed by inspired saints and dedicated to Siva is equal to the Veda in sanctity. Because of its complex connection with Siva, Veda and Agamic temple ritual, it is also the only kind of literature that qualifies as culturally *Tamil*. This logic enables the later tradition to venerate the saints' hymns themselves as the "Tamil Veda" (*tamilmarai*) (Peterson 1989, 51-59).

It is ultimately as "personalized authority" (adapting a phrase coined by Brian Smith, in Smith 1989, 24) that the poet-saints conceive of the Veda. As a Tamil poet as well as a Vedic scholar, Campantar himself embodies the new "Veda" (which includes Tamil as well as Sanskrit). In an even bolder stroke, Siva himself is envisaged as personifying the identity of Tamil, Sanskrit, and Veda, as well as the many other important elements that went into the making of Tamil Saiva *bhakti*, including Siva's myths, and the poetic conventions of classical Tamil "Cankam" poetry:

See the god!  
See him who is higher than the gods!  
See him who is Sanskrit of the North  
and southern Tamil and the four Vedas!

See him who bathes in milk and ghee,  
 see the Lord, see him who dances, holding fire,  
 in the wilderness of the burning-ground . . .  
 See Siva! See him who is our treasure  
 here in Civapuram!"  
 (TVR. VI: 301.1)

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In the various equations that the Nayanars make between the Veda and elements of Tamil Saiva religion, they are using nearly all the strategies that Brian Smith (1989, 19-29) has described as strategies whereby Hindu sects use Vedic authority to legitimize their own ideologies and rites. Tamil Saiva texts, rituals, practices, and personages are said to equal, be identical with, surpass, embody, enlarge, represent the essence of, or simply to reflect, "the Veda." Thus, the Nayanars' Veda is not a text, a body of rituals, or even a body of knowledge. It is rather as a discourse, a set of strategies and symbols of "transcendent and extra-human knowledge," and as a metonym for canon and authority, that the Veda appears in the *Tevaram*.

The above account of the Veda-Agama-Sanskrit-Tamil synthesis is not intended to be an explanation of the success of Tamil Saivism among the Tamil population in the Pallava era. Too many elements in the synthesis have been left out of the account. The affective and aesthetic power of the hymns, the expression of devotion as personal relationship, Saiva myth and iconography, the transformation of the landscapes and other conventions of classical Tamil poetry and ecstatic religion, all played a part in the formulation of Tamil Saiva *bhakti* (Peterson 1989, intro., chap. 3). Nor were many of these elements exclusive to Tamil Saivism. Vaisnavas, Jains, and Buddhists in the Tamil country participated equally in the sectarian transformations of Tamil culture, and, as Paula Richman (1988), and James Ryan (this volume) have shown, the rhetoric of writers from the heterodox traditions was as eloquent and persuasive as that of the Tamil Saiva saints. The Vedic argument is only one thread in Tamil Saiva ideology, but it is an essential one in the Saivas' anti-Jain polemic. It allowed the Saiva leaders on the one hand to conform to the standard Brahmanical arguments against heresy, and on the other to construct a cultural argument on largely local and sectarian bases.

Jains in Tamil Saiva Texts of the Cola Period

*The Cola State and the Tamil Saiva Sect*

The *Tevaram* poets devote many verses to the narratives of epic and puranic heroes and of earlier Saiva saints. Cuntarar, the third poet of the *Tevaram*, first listed the Saiva canon of Nayanars in a hymn (*Tiruttontar Tiruvantati*, TVR VII: 39). But the earliest hagiographical works on Appar and Campantar were authored in the Cola period by the eleventh century poet Nampi Antar Nampi, a Brahman (Adisaiva) temple priest. In addition to six poems in praise of Campantar, and one on Appar, he also composed a poem on all sixty-three saints, basing his work on Cuntarar's hymn. 26 Nampi is celebrated in the Tamil Saiva tradition not for his praise-poems on the saints (which were quickly superseded by Cekkilar's grand epic hagiography), but for his achievement as the compiler of the three saints' hymns into the *Tevaram* anthology, which constitutes the first seven

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of the twelve books of the Tamil Saiva canon (Peterson 1989, 14-15). Cekkilar's *Periya Puranam*, the authoritative biography of the sixty-three Nayanars, belongs to the twelfth century, when Cola imperial power was at its height. In the centuries immediately following, Tamil Saivism consolidated its position as the supreme religion of the Cola empire, and Agamic texts and commentaries, and the great Tamil treatises of Saiva Siddhanta, in which scholars expounded the theology and philosophy of Tamil Saivism, emerged. The Cola period was the era in which Tamil Saivism came of age, acquiring a canon of primary sacred texts (beginning with the *Tevaram* and ending with the PP), a body of texts on ritual, philosophy, and theology, and full-fledged hagiographies for its canon of saints.

The consolidation of Saiva sectarian power in the eleventh through the fourteenth centuries needs to be seen in the context of the Cola imperial design. Consolidating the Brahman-Vellala alliance was only the first step in a process that Burton Stein (1980, 321-65) has described as the supra-local integration of the Cola state. Stein argues that, beginning with



Rajaraja I, the Colas wished to create a "segmentary" state, in which local, especially peasant, and other groups would have considerable autonomy, but would at the same time be linked to the imperial ideology by means of a royal "ritual hegemony" (Stein 1980, 331). In the royal cult of Siva that was systematically created and promoted, Stein (1980, 357) explains, the newly erected massive temples, which were genuinely "royal" shrines, for they were named after the Cola king, ". . . enjoyed special prominence and set the canonical style for temple worship for the entire macroregion."

Stein's analysis highlights the deliberate, systematic nature of the Cola promotion of the Agamic cult of Siva, a plan which included royal support for the cult of the saints and the canonization of the sect's texts. The consolidation of the Brahman-Vellala alliance in the Cola context is revealed in the identities of the two principal Saiva canonizers of this era. Nampi Antar Nampi, the compiler of the *Tevaram* and promoter of a cult of the worship of Campantar, was a temple priest, while Cekkilar, whose PP narratives are pervaded with Brahman-Vellala values and imagery, was not only a Vellala but also a minister to the Cola king. In his narratives of the canonization of the *Tevaram* and the PP, the fourteenth-century theologian Umapati Civacariyar stresses the collaboration the hagiographers and the Cola rulers of their time in promoting the cult.

According to Umapati's *Tirumuraikantapuram* (TMKP, the Narrative of the Discovery of the sacred texts) the Cola king Apayakulacekaran (the eleventh-century king Kulottunga III?) asked the poet-priest Nampi Antar Nampi to reveal the hymns and lives of the Saiva saints to the world. Guided by the god Ganapati, Nampi discovered the *Tevaram* hymns in manuscript form, half-eaten by white ants, in a sealed room near the golden hall of the great Siva temple in Chidambaram. Having compiled the hymns into seven books, Nampi reconstructed the lost music of the hymns, and arrangements were made for the performance of the hymns in temples. The story implies that the hymns had been forgotten, and that their recovery and canonization by a Brahman scholar-priest at a major shrine, was deliberately instigated by the king.

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According to the *Cekkilar nayanar puranam* (CNP, The narrative of Cekkilar nayanar), also by Umapati, Cekkilar, the minister of the Cola king Anapaya, was pained by the king's love for the *Cintamani*, a work which the pious Saiva minister condemned as being heretical, lewd, and profane. When Cekkilar exhorted Anapaya to turn his attention to the elevating subject of devotion to Siva, embodied in the narratives of the sixty-three Nayanar saints, the king commissioned him to compose on that subject a poem that would be equal to the *Cintamani*. When, having completed his grand poem, Cekkilar read it out to the king and the public at the Siva temple in Chidambaram, the king worshipped the author and his work, taking them in procession on an elephant around the streets of the shrine center. Among the many features this narrative shares with the TMKP is the centrality of the Chidambaram temple, located in the Kaveri delta. Although the importance of Chidambaram as a *brahmadeya* and sacred center goes back to the Pallava period, it is Colas who brought the shrine to prominence as the premier temple for Tamil Saivas, especially by promoting the cult of the dancing Siva, which was celebrated in the worship of exquisite bronze icons of Siva as Atavallan (Nataraja) (Peterson, 1989).

While there is no mention of Jains in the TMKP, in the CNP Umapati places the Jains squarely in the hagiographer's own present. And, perhaps not coincidentally, the *Civakacintamani*, which was to play such an important role in the nineteenth-century recovery of Tamil texts, is a key player in this narrative as well. In the view of the sectarian tradition, represented by Umapati, Cekkilar wrote the hagiographical classic of Tamil Saivism to rival a Jain court epic poem. It is more likely, however, that the Jain shadow-text for which Cekkilar intended his work to be a counter-text was Cavundaraya's tenth century *Trisastilak-sanamahapurana*, a Kannada version, based on the Sanskrit *Mahapurana*, of the lives of the sixty-three Jain revered ones (*mahapurusa*) (Dehejia 1988: 19).<sup>27</sup> In fact, by Cekkilar's time the number of Saiva Nayanars appears to have been fixed as sixty-three in imitation of the number of Jain revered ones.<sup>28</sup> "*Periya puranam*" (The Great Narrative), the popular name for Cekkilar's poem, is an exact translation of the phrase "*mahapurana*," in the titles of both the Sanskrit and the Kannada versions of the Jain hagiography. It is not clear whether the Saivas feared any real threat from Jainism in the fourteenth century, when Umapati Civacariyar produced his mythographies of the Tamil Saiva canon. What is clear is the continuing importance of Jains in Tamil Saiva sectarian histories.

### *Cola Period Hagiography*

#### *Jains in the works of Nampi Antar Nampi, and Cekkilar*

Nampi Antar Nampi's poems on Campantar are of interest to us because of his many references to Campantar's confrontation with the Jains. In these poems, which are little more than litanies of praise for the Nayanar, Nampi's

references to Campantar and the Jains takes the form of epithets and allusions, rather than narrative segments. Among his favorite epithets for the saint are the saint as

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*paramatakolari* (enemy of the hostile sect), *kuntcani* (thunderbolt to the *kuntar* [base ones]), *arukacani* (thunderbolt to the *arukar* [arhat]), or as *tamilakaran* (ocean of *tamil*), and *kavuniyatipan* (light of the Kavuniya [Kaundinya] lineage). In APTA (one of the six poems on Campantar), he refers eleven times (in 101 verses) to Campantar's victory over the Jains in Madurai, describing the saint as ". . . the light of the *kavuniyar* clan, the hero with the strong shoulders, who once slew the powerful *kuntar* (*valikelu kuntar*) on the Vaikai riverbank" (APTA 12), ". . . the lion who destroyed the Arukar's south Indian fortress base" (APTA 43), and "the dear one who defeated the powerful *aman* [nude Jains] and set them on the points of stakes, thus cutting our fetters of *karma*." (APTA 98). The last citation offers a typical example of Nampi's many references to the impalement of Jain monks in Madurai, after their defeat in their contests with Campantar, an "event" which appears for the first time in Tamil Saiva literature in Nampi's works, and after him, becomes a staple of that literature (see below).

Cekkilar gives the the fullest account of Appar and Campantar's encounters with Jains (including the "impalement of the Jains" incident) (PP: TNNP, TNCMNP; Vanmikanathan 1985, 272-87, 229-62). According to the PP, Appar, who was a Saiva by birth, became a Jain monk with the name Tarumacenar, and headed the Jain monastery at Tiruppatirippuliyur (Pataliputra, see above). Appar's life as a Jain ended when he was afflicted by a painful abdominal ailment, which Jain *mantras* and magic could not cure, but which was miraculously cured by Siva. The grateful and repentant Tarumacenar was moved to return to Saivism, and to spend his life making pilgrimages to Siva's sacred places and singing his praise in stirring hymns. Just as the first of Appar's 313 hymns is linked with the story of his reconversion, other hymns are read as references to his persecution by the resentful Jain monks in collaboration with the king. 29 The saint's persecutors had him cast into a blazing lime kiln. When he emerged unhurt, they had him bound to a rock and thrown into the ocean, but the rock floated. The monks tried to have the saint trampled by an elephant, and fed him poisoned rice. With the help of miracles from Siva, Appar emerged unhurt from all of these ordeals.<sup>30</sup>

Miracles also take center stage in the colorful narrative of Campantar's confrontation with the Jains in Madurai, the Pandyan capital. The Pandyan queen Mankaiyarkkaraci (originally a Cola princess) and the minister Kulaccirai, who are devout Saivas, invite Campantar to come to Madurai and drive out Jain monks, who live in the hills around Madurai, and have the king in their power. The monks set fire to Campantar's inn, but the saint transfers the fire, in the form of a raging fever, to the king's body. When the Jain monks' peacock feathers and *mantras* fail to help the king, Campantar applies Siva's sacred ash to the king's body, and recites the *namahsivaya* mantra, instantly curing him. Challenged to debate, the Saiva saint faces the Jain monks in a series of contests. In the contest by fire (*analvatam*) a manuscript of Campantar's hymn to Siva emerges unhurt from fire, while the manuscript with the Jaina doctrine is burned to cinders. Similarly, in the contest by water (*punalvatam*), the Jain manuscript is carried away by the river, while the saint's hymn is brought to shore, unscathed, by the current. Campantar completes

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the round of miracles by transforming the hunchback king into a tall and handsome man. Needless to say, the king is converted. The Jains have chosen to die if they get defeated. Their chosen death is by impalement on stakes.

The debate between Campantar and the Jains thus boils down to a contest of *mantras* and miracles, a not uncommon pattern in Indian hagiographies, as attested by Phyllis Granoff's study of some Vedanta hagiographies (Granoff, 1985). Campantar has manifold *mantras* at his command. There is the sectarian *namah sivaya mantra*, which is an embodiment of Vedic knowledge as well as of Siva's grace (as Siva's name). Then there is Campantar's own Tamil hymn to Siva (the Tamil Veda of the Saiva sect), which itself appears to embody the power of the *namah sivaya mantra*. In the Saiva sectarian view, in addition to their being the embodiment of truth, the sheer concentration of beneficent sacred power makes the Saiva *mantras* infinitely superior to the Jain *mantras*, which are nothing more than black magic. The most important advantage for the Saivas, however, is the saint himself, for in the Saiva view there is no equivalent in the Jain community for the charismatic Saiva saint-devotee poet who can be a conduit for all this sacred power. In sum, the Jain narratives allow the hagiographers to paint a portrait of the saint as the hero who rescued the faith from suppression, and

to construct a Tamil past in which Saivism emerges triumphant, supported by powerful kings and adoring masses, all images which fit neatly into the Cola imperial project (Peterson 1994).

The legend of the impalement of the Jain monks at Madurai has had a lasting impact on popular Tamil Saiva constructions of Jains from the Cola period onward. As Paul Dundas (1992, 109-10) points out, while there is no record of an actual massacre having taken place, the legend (at some point in the tradition the number of Jains who were impaled got fixed at eight thousand) might well be a representation of the triumph of Agamic Saivism's triumph over Jain asceticism, with the stakes of impalement perhaps representing the Vedic *yupa* sacrificial post. Alternatively, the narrative may be read as a construction of an actual exodus of Jains from the Madurai area on account of persecution or economic hardship, as indicated by a gap of about six hundred years in the inscriptions at the Jain monastic site in Madurai (ibid.). The legend itself is reiterated with embellishments in post-Nampi hagiographical narratives, and reinterpreted by major medieval Tamil poets (e.g., Ottakkuttar, in the *Takkayakapparani*). Later interpreters vary in their opinions as to Campantar's role in the impalement. Nampi does not say whether Campantar actively participated in the impalement decree, but celebrates it as a glorious (and gory) climax to Campantar's career as vindicator of Saivism. Similar views emerge in the accounts in the local Puranas of Madurai (e.g., *Tiruvilaiyatal Puranam*), following which the event is reenacted as part of the annual festival at the Minaksi-Siva temple in Madurai.

Cekkilar himself appears to be uncomfortable with the idea of Campantar's complicity in such a gruesome punishment as impalement. Not content with making the Jains voluntarily choose their mode of death, endure defeat, and thus perforce accept their sentence, Cekkilar downplays Campantar's involvement in the execution of the sentence as well. Quite the opposite is true of Cekkilar's near

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contemporary, the Cola court-poet Ottakkuttar, who includes a description of the Madurai Jain controversy in his war-poem *Takkayakapparani*, which portrays Siva as a war hero on the model of the Tamil king of the late classical texts. More in consonance with the majority of Tamil Saiva writers of the age of the imperial Colas (Nilakantha Sastri 1935; Shulman 1985), Ottakkuttar (*Takkayakapparani* 6:169-220) portrays Campantar as an incarnation of the war god Murukan-Skanda, the son of Siva, who has been born on earth to exterminate the Jains. This the saint proceeds to do through a warlike contest with the Jains at Madurai, which ends with the king's order to have the Jains impaled on stakes, *at the instigation of the saint*. Sarasvati, Goddess of Learning, narrates this "sweet tale" of conquest to Murukan's mother Parvati, at her request (*Takkayakapparani* 6:169).

This variation in the portrait of the saint as culture-hero in the medieval texts is thought provoking. I would suggest that the majority view, that Campantar played the part of a "holy warrior" for Saivism, in the full sense of the term, is in consonance with the war cult of the Cola court and aristocracy, which permeated the imagery of Cola period texts as a whole. 31 At least two major *parani* poems (Cayankontar's *Kalinkattupparani* is the other famous Cola *parani* text; Shulman 1985, 278-92), replete with gruesome images of war, were written for Cola kings in Cekkilar's own time. It was also in the twelfth century in the Cola realm that Kampan wrote his Tamil Ramayana, the quintessential war epic and celebration of Cola kingship. The lives of the sixty-three Nayanars in Cekkilar's PP itself are full of courageous deeds of violence, undertaken for the sake of God and devotion (Hudson 1989; Peterson 1994). I have argued elsewhere (Peterson 1994) that in the case of the first poet-saint of the tradition, Cekkilar deliberately softened the saintly persona, stressing the saint's quality of compassion as much as his passionate defense of Saivism. Cekkilar's Campantar performs miracles of healing (including calling the dead back to life), not of destruction. The hagiographer's motivation might well have been to avoid providing the Jains and other rivals of Saivism grounds for claiming the superiority of their nonviolent, compassionate leaders over those of the Saivas. In other words, Cekkilar seems to have taken Jain critiques of violence seriously. For contrast, we need only look at the militant acts of "Siva's Warriors," the Virasaiva saints in the Karnataka-Andhra region towards Jains, as described in the Telugu *Basava Purana* (Narayana Rao 1990).

Cekkilar's concern is echoed, albeit with very different reasoning and conclusions, in a recent defense of Campantar's attitude toward the Jains (Centinaiyar 1907).<sup>32</sup> Responding to Christian missionary criticism of Saivism's violent character, through a complex argument Centinaiyar uses the incident of the impalement of the Jains to demonstrate Campantar's immense compassion for all souls (*civakarunniyam*), Jains included. In addition to the complexity of Centinaiyar's arguments, from the viewpoint of this essay, the most interesting thing about this polemical pamphlet is the resurfacing of the issue of Saiva-Jain relations in the context of a religious controversy of nineteenth-century originsthat between Saivas and Christians in Tamilnadu.

*Narratives for the Times*  
*Religion and the Politics of Tamil Identity in the Modern Age*

The idea that the ideologies of the heterodox religions, especially Jainism, go against the grain of a genuine Tamil culture is a construct that was fashioned and vigorously put forward in the Pallava era by settled agriculturalist populations of the Tamil country, whose interests coincided with those of Brahmins who patronized and practiced a religion based on the Agamas. The Colas, while patronizing many sects, including Jainism and Buddhism, decisively linked the royal cult with Tamil Saivism. The celebration of the Saiva saints, their hymns, and narratives, was patronized by Cola kings as a strategy toward the consolidation of hegemony. This led to a strengthening of the identification of Tamil Saivism with Tamil culture almost till the nineteenth century.

Tamil Jains contended with the Saivas from positions of relative strength till the twelfth century. They also continued to stay in the mainstream of nonsectarian literary activity in the Tamil language, producing literary classics and standard treatises in many scholarly fields. The legend of the rivalry between the PP and the *Civakacintamani*, and the modeling of the PP after Jain hagiographies, suggests that not only Jain works of a nonsectarian nature, but also sectarian texts, greatly influenced the Saivas well into the medieval era.

The Cola project of the canonization of Saiva texts and values resulted in the ossification of a religious-cultural "nationalist" rhetoric which sought to exclude Jains as the symbol of all those who were alien to Tamil religious and social values. It is not surprising that a reformulated Saiva identity was the ideal of the nineteenth-century Tamil cultural resurgence led by Arumuka Navalar and others (Hudson 1992), but the twentieth-century Dravidianist movements have tended to reject not only Saiva identities, but all earlier Tamil cultural phenomena which they consider to be religious. Most branches of the latest Tamil cultural movement reject roots in Agamic-Vedic Saivism in favor of a secular identity based on the idea of a pre-Pallavan secular Tamil golden age. This has meant that, once again, Jain contributions to Tamil culture go unrecognized (although this time Saiva contributions suffer the same fate), so that a text such as the *Kural*, permeated as it is by the Jaina ethos, is now being interpreted as containing no *religious* values, and certainly none that may be labeled as sectarian (Cutler 1992). Perhaps the anti-Jain polemic of thirteen hundred years in the Tamil region has finally come to rest.

Notes

1. Kamil V. Zvelebil (1975, 11-12) discusses Swaminatha Iyer's (1855-1942) account of this incident and its implications in his autobiography, *En Carittiram* (My life).
2. Ibid., 5-17, and 22-23. The earliest of the Cankam anthologies reflect a society in which aspects of Vedic-Brahmanical religion are present, along with elements with no recorded counterparts in Vedic-Brahmanical religion.

3. Cuntarar (Cuntaramurti), an eighth-century poet, the third leader of the Tamil Saiva *bhakti* movement, and author of the 100 hymns that form the last book of the *Tevaram*, pays little attention to Jains and Buddhists. The three *Tevaram* poets are celebrated as the most eminent saints in a group of sixty-three Nayanars.
4. See Hudson 1992, and Centinaiyar 1907.
5. For the narratives, see Vanmikanathan 1985; Dehejia 1988; Peterson (1989, 19-21, 269-301); and Peterson (1994, 191-212). Narratives of the Jaina controversy reappear in later Tamil Saiva texts as well.
6. Jaini (1970) discusses the bases and circumstances of the *sramana-brahmana* controversy in the early history of these religions.
7. Richman (1988) makes similar points about the literary and religious rhetorical strategies of the Buddhist author Cattanar in the epic *Manimekalai*. The Jain poem *Nilakeci*, on the other hand, was intended as a direct rebuttal of the



Buddhist arguments in *Kuntalakeci* (Chakravarti 1974; Zvelebil 1992).

8. For a detailed historical and literary introduction to the *Tevaram* (TVR) hymns, and for translations of selected hymns see Peterson 1989. All translations from the TVR in this essay are included in Peterson 1989, and can be easily located with the help of the verse index at the end of the book (I have followed the numbering of the *Tevaram* hymns in the Kalakam edition). The hymns in Books I-III of the *Tevaram* are by Campantar, and those in books IV-VI are by Appar. Cuntarar is the author of Book VII,

9. Most of Campantar's hymns end with an additional "signature" verse, in which the poet speaks of himself and of his poem.

10. The narrative presented in the book is a resume of Cekkilar's account in the PP.

11. Note, however, that the PP contains a narrative of Campantar's debate with Buddhist monks at their monastery in Potimankai near Karaikkal: PP, TNCMNP 904-25.

12. See Velupillai 1991 for a detailed discussion of the terms Campantar uses to criticize the Jains.

13. "The later term *nastika*, which came to mean primarily those who denied the existence of the gods, also included the denial of the Vedas." Ibid., 112-13.

14. See also TVR I:99. 10.

15. Velupillai (1991) offers a detailed discussion of Campantar's use of these and other terms of abuse.

16. E.g., Zvelebil 1975; Dehejia 1988; Peterson 1989.

17. For a detailed description of Jain ascetic practices, consult Schubring 1962. Orr (this volume) remarks on the divergence of some of the practices described in the *Tevaram* from the textual prescriptions for particular subgroups of monks outside of Tamilnadu.

18. Against the increasing importance of vegetarianism as a marker of purity and ritual status in Tamil Saiva and agamic temple ritual religion.

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19. According to Appar, in addition to being "shameless" (on account of their nudity), the Jain monks are hypocrites, for they run away from women rather than confront the challenge of sexual temptation with self-control (TVR IV: 39.5).

20. The names Campantar cites are typical of the Tamil Jains. During his years as Jain monk, Appar was known as Tarumacenar (Dharmasena).

21. Velupillai's (1991) suggestion that Campantar made a distinction between literary Tamil (such as was used in the *Tevaram*) and the Tamil that Jains used in their propaganda, which might have been colloquial Tamil, is worth investigating. However, there is no evidence bearing out this suggestion in Campantar's text itself.

22. Such descriptions are connected especially with Brahman settlements such as Cirkali, Chidambaram and Tiruvilimilalai (e.g., TVR IV: 80.2; I:231.9; I:75.11, I:4. 11.).

23. Also see: TVR II: 202.1, and IV: 11. Peterson (1989, 216-23).

24. As Frits Staal suggested in a thoughtful essay (Staal: *JAS* 22.3), the process of "Sanskritization" is most often aimed at achieving the opposite effect, that is, moving farther away from that which was originally solely associated with Sanskritic culture, and bringing in elements which are not Sanskritic.

25. See TVR IV: 31.4.

26. Tirumurai II (*Patinoran tirumurai*). For a list of Nampi's works, and an evaluation of him as a hagiographer, see Petterson 1994.

27. The ninth-century Sanskrit *Mahapurana* consists of Jinasena's *Adipurana* and Gunabhadra's completion of Jinasena's narrative. There is also an Apabhramsa version of the lives of the Jain *mahapurusas*, by Puspadanta (tenth century).

28. In his list of the Saiva asints (TVR VII: 39) the eighth-century Nayanar Cuntarar named sixty individual saints and nine groups of holy figures. In the signature verse, he named himself and his parents as devotees of Siva. In the *Tiruttontar Tiruvantati* (TTA), a poem in praise of the Nayanar saints, the eleventh-century hagiographer Nampi names Cuntarar and his parents, along with the sixty individually named Nayanars of Cuntarar's poem, to make up the canonical list of sixty-three saints (*arupattumuvur*). Cutting the number of Saiva saints off at sixty-three resulted in the rather awkward omission of the eminent ninth-century poet saint Manikkavacakar from the group.

29. The Pallava Mahendravarman I?

30. PP V:21.294-300 For summaries of these narratives, see Dehejia 1988 and Vanmikanathan 1985. A popular legend suggests that Appar converted his contemporary, the Pallava king of Kanchipuram, from Jainism to Saivism. According to Cekkilar, one of Appar's hymns refers to the restoration of a Siva shrine, which had been replaced by a Jain temple.

31. I thank Dr. Govinda Menon of Leiden University for suggesting this idea to me.

32. Thanks to Dr. N. Ganesan of NASA, Houston, for bringing Centinataiyar's pamphlet to my attention.

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## Chapter Ten

### Jain and Hindu "Religious Women" in Early Medieval Tamilnadu

Leslie C. Orr

#### The Problem of Relations Between Jains and Hindus in Tamilnadu

Jains and Hindus have coexisted in the Tamil country from at least as early as the second century B.C.E. Our knowledge of the ways in which Jainism developed in Tamilnadu over the next thousand years, and interacted with other religious movements as these evolved, rests on scattered and fragmentary evidence. The standard narrative of this interaction, which Richard H. Davis discusses elsewhere in this volume, seems to be influenced by the negative attitude towards the Jains expressed by the Vaisnava and Saiva poet-saints of the sixth to ninth centuries, the Alvars and the Nayanmars, whose depiction of the Jains as "foreigners" is analyzed by Indira V. Peterson in this volume. According to the standard narrative, Jainism became dominant in Tamilnadu in the fifth and sixth centuries C.E., during a period known as the "Kalabhra interregnum" (Krishnaswami Aiyangar 1941, 464-89; Arunachalam 1979). The religious ethos of this period, imbued with the spirit of Jainism, is characterized in this account as pessimistic, antisocial, anti-woman, puritanical, and un-Tamil; it serves as a backdrop for the Hindu reaction joyful, inclusive, world-affirming, and wholly Tamil devotional movement which ultimately triumphed over Jainism (Zvelebil 1973, 195-97; Arunachalam 1979).

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There is other evidence, however, that leads us to challenge this standard narrative. The present study is based on the Tamil inscriptions of the period of the eighth to thirteenth centuries. These inscriptions testify to the ongoing activity of Jains in the society and culture of Tamilnadu long after the "victory" of Hinduism and to the Tamilness of Jain religion in Tamilnadu. Further, the inscriptions suggest that there were persistent and significant interactions and mutual influences between Jains and Hindus in medieval Tamilnadu. It is the object of the present essay to show how inscriptional evidence can cast light on these processes and relationships.

I will begin by focusing on a sociological problem, related to the way that religious roles for women were variously defined and structured within the Jain and Hindu communities. The inscriptional sources reveal that Jain women were very active as religious teachers in the eighth and ninth centuries. I had, in an earlier study of Hindu temple women (Orr 1993),

noticed that it was after this period that Hindu women came increasingly to establish relations with temples, and wondered whether the Jain "religious woman" may have served as a model for her Hindu counterpart. This question is the starting point for this essay, and leads me, first, to compare the situation and roles of these two types of "religious women." In the process, I will also compare religious women's and religious men's activities and examine their relations with one another and with religious structures and types of status. Finally, this line of questioning opens out into an investigation of the character of Jain and Hindu religious institutions and of the arena for interaction between Jains and Hindus in medieval Tamilnadu.

# Categories and Communities

In using the inscriptions to discover something about the character of women active in the Jainism or the Hinduism of medieval Tamilnadu, our first problem is to try to understand the definition and the structure of the groups to which they belonged. This is surprisingly difficult, since these social groups or religious communities are not quite those that authoritative texts or contemporary scholarship have led us to expect to find. Sectarian distinctions, such as "Digambara," "Svetambara," or "Saiva" and "Vaisnava," are not sharply marked in Tamil inscriptions. Thus, I have adopted in this essay the use of the umbrella terms "Jain" and "Hindu" at the same time acknowledging the great diversity within and the problematic character of these categories, which Richard H. Davis and Lawrence A. Babb, among others in this volume, draw our attention to. In medieval Tamil inscriptions we find that, in addition to sectarian distinctions, other definitional boundaries are frequently blurred. For example, it does not seem altogether appropriate to use the word "nun" for the female teachers and students referred to in Jain inscriptions from Tamilnadu. Not only is "nun" a term absent from the inscriptions themselves, but there is no direct evidence that any of these women actually took vows of mendicancy or asceticism, renounced family life, or were ordained into monastic orders. It is convenient for the purpose of comparison

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with Hindu temple women to apply the term "religious women" to these Jain women, but it is also a term whose vagueness is in keeping with the inscriptions' own manner of identifying these women.

In constructing the category of Jain religious women, I have followed the same model that I have previously used (Orr 1993) to delineate the group of Hindu temple women: in each case, the types of identifications and descriptions provided by the inscriptions serve to demarcate the group, insofar as they indicate that a woman either (a) functioned in or received support from a religious institution; (b) was described as being "of the temple" or as belonging, in some sense, to a religious institution; or (c) was regarded as having some religious status associated with a particular set of terms. For Jain religious women, the term most frequently utilized is "*kuratti*" (female teacher), and for Hindu temple women, it is "*tevaratiyar*" (devotee of god). On the basis of these definitions, women of these two groups are in almost all cases clearly distinguishable both from one another, and from other categories of women. It is interesting, however, that the separate identities of the two groups of religious women relative to other types of women is not marked by the inscriptions with reference to a distinction between lay status on one hand, and "ascetic" or "ritualist" status (for Jain or Hindu religious women respectively) on the other.

Although Hindu temple women (*devadasis*) of more recent times have been characterized primarily in terms of ritual function or professional skill (Marglin 1985; Kersenboom 1987), the identities of temple women in medieval Tamilnadu rested on status rather than function. The inscriptions only rarely describe them as temple servants or temple dancers; there is no indication that their positions in the temple were linked to inheritance, professional skill, or marriage to the temple deity. The status and social definition of medieval temple women as "devotees" points to the central importance of relationship with the temple and this relationship seems to have been secured as a consequence of temple women's activity as the patrons of temples.

From the ninth century onward, Hindu temples in Tamilnadu came to be of increasing size and increasingly elaborate ritual life. The majority of the temples that grew into prominence in medieval Tamil Nadu were dedicated to the god Siva, and many of these Saiva temples began, especially in the twelfth century, to be associated with mathas educational institutions or monasteries, which also served as feeding houses and places of worship (Rajamanikkam 1962; Gurumurthy 1979, 13-25, 70-73; Orr 1994b). Temples, and the *mathas* connected to them, became increasingly important as local institutions, deeply implicated in the political and economic life of the communities in which they were situated. The ritual specialists and administrators of medieval South Indian temples, as well as the teachers and ascetics of the *mathas*, were almost entirely male.

Although Jain institutions in Tamilnadu may have had origins distinct from those of the network of Hindu temples, by the medieval period the two types of institutions appear to have developed many resemblances. From as early as the first centuries B.C.E., Jain ascetics and Jain religious activities were associated with

*pallis*. If in the most ancient period these were primarily residences for ascetics, epigraphical and literary evidence shows that by the fifth or sixth century C.E., *pallis* were also centers for the feeding and sheltering of itinerant ascetics and pilgrims, and places of worship. As Gregory Schopen (1985, 1988-89, 1992) has shown in the case of Buddhism, and as Kendall W. Folkert (1989) has suggested for the early Jainism of Mathura, matters related to worship seem to have been of considerable interest to members of the Jain religious elite in medieval Tamilnadu. The dwelling places of religious Jains were also places where images of the Tirthankaras and of *yaksis* (goddesses) were set up often, as we will see, by religious men and women themselves. Jain *pallis* combined several institutional functions, including cultic activities, education, monastic organization, and the provision of food and shelter for itinerant ascetics, teachers, and pilgrims. 1

Jain institutions appear to have provided more scope than their Hindu counterparts for women to participate in some of the same capacities as men. The standing of Jain religious women in the early medieval period, and the equivalence of their position to that of their male counterparts, is indicated by the fact that, in the eighth century, an image of a female teacher (*kuratti*) was set up as an object of reverence (JIT 441), just as similar images were installed in honor of male teachers. Indeed, it is rather surprising to see such prominent Jain women. Although Jain nuns and monks both undertook the same five "great vows" (*mahavratas*) to avoid injury to any living being (*ahimsa*), to be truthful, to avoid stealing, to observe total celibacy, and to renounce all possessions (*aparigraha*) Jain nuns were subject to numerous extra restrictions and were placed under the authority of monks. Jain texts prescribe that nuns were to be dependent on male teachers in their ordination, in establishing penances, and for protection, education, and supervision. Certain texts were not to be studied by nuns, nor were nuns expected to participate in debate. Nuns must spend thirty years of study in order to attain the lowest rank of teacher, and sixty before attaining the highest rank; while a monk ordained for only three years was permitted to be the teacher of a nun of thirty years standing.<sup>2</sup> Yet, in early medieval Tamilnadu, Jain religious women attained public prominence and recognition as teachers, in a way that would scarcely have been possible had the Tamil Jain community conformed to textual prescriptions. This prominence of Jain religious women is all the more surprising given the likelihood that Tamil Jains of this period were allied to the Digambara division of the Jain community, whose leaders argued that women were ineligible for full ordination and incapable of attaining the highest religious goal (Jaini 1991).<sup>3</sup> The activities of Jain women in medieval Tamilnadu seem not only to deviate from textual prescriptions and Digambara policy, but also to differ from those of Jain women elsewhere. Inscriptions from various other periods and regions of India indicate that, while Jain religious women may have been the preceptors of lay disciples (mostly women), they were rarely if ever teachers of other religious women and men.<sup>4</sup>

# *Jains, and Jain and Hindu Religious Women, in Medieval Tamil Inscriptions*

Virtually all of the Tamil inscriptions of the eighth to thirteenth centuries are records of gifts. These gifts of gold, livestock, land, images, lamps, and ornaments were usually made to institutions, as grants to support the activities of Jain or Hindu temples, *pallis* or *mathas*. The language and the purpose of Jain and Hindu inscriptions are in general very similar. Both Jain and Hindu records refer to arrangements for lamps to be burned before the deities, for various offerings and worship (*tiruppani*), and for providing food to ascetics and devotees. Although Jainism persisted through the whole of the period under study and, indeed, continues to survive in Tamilnadu up until the present day it was a minority religion and was, in the course of this period, and in subsequent periods, increasingly losing ground. Places that were at one time important Jain centers fell into disuse, or were replaced by Hindu institutions, and many of the records inscribed on Jain images, or on the stone walls of Jain *pallis*, were destroyed or displaced. Records in Hindu temples are much more likely to have been preserved from the early medieval period to the present. There are over 10,000 such inscriptions, while fewer than 350 Jain inscriptions in Tamil have been found that date to the same period, of the eighth to thirteenth century (see table 10.1). 5

What can the extant inscriptions tell us about the chronological and geographical distribution of Jain activity in early



medieval Tamilnadu? Table 10.1 shows us that Jainism had a particularly strong presence in the most southerly districts of Tamilnadu. Among the inscriptions of the far south is a large group from a single site, Kalugumalai in Tirunelveli district, consisting of ninety-eight inscriptions which have been dated to the eighth century on the basis of paleography; most are engraved below images of Tirthankaras and *yaksis*, and record the names of the donors of these images. Fifty other inscriptions, of approximately the same period and mostly recording gifts of images, appear scattered at different sites in nearby Madurai district.

Further north, in Tanjavur district, the core territory of the Chola kings, we find only a few Jain inscriptions. In Tiruchirappalli district, however, which lies between Tanjavur district and the southern districts, we find somewhat more inscriptional evidence of Jain activity; indeed the very name of this district, incorporating the word *palli*, indicates its long-standing association with Jainism. Other parts of Tamilnadu, where we see indications of an important Jain presence, are the northern districts of Chingleput and North Arcot, as well as the middle country of South Arcot district which lies between the north and Tanjavur district. It is, in fact, in the northern and the middle zones that we find the strongest evidence for the continuing strength of the Jain community in Tamilnadu after the ninth century, and it is in this part of Tamilnadu that Jains live today.

Table 10.2 shows us the number and distribution of inscriptions that refer to Jain religious women. A comparison of these figures with those in Table 10.1

Table 10.1				
Distribution of Jain Inscriptions in Tamil				
DISTRICT	8th-9th centuries	10th-11th centuries	12th-13th centuries	Total
Chittoor				
Chingleput	3	4	12	19
North Aroct	11	29	12	52
South Arcot	10	23	26	59
Tanjavur	2	3	2	7
Tiruchirappalli	10	7	5	22
Ramnad	5		1	6
Madurai	50	4		54
Tirunelveli	106		2	108
Kanyakumari	6		1	7
Kerala				
Sri Lanka				
Coimbatore		2	3	5
Salem			2	2
Kolar				
Mysore				
Total	203	72	66	341

allows us to see the extent to which Jain religious women are represented in extant Jain inscriptions. A very high proportion of the eighth-century inscriptions from Kalugumalai, in Tirunelveli district, refer to Jain religious women—twenty-one out of ninety-eight inscriptions, or over 20 percent. On the other hand, only one of the fifty Jain inscriptions from neighboring Madurai district, which are comparable in period and character to those at Kalugumalai, refers to a religious woman. None of the inscriptions from Tiruchirappalli district mention Jain religious women. We find only three out of the 134 Jain inscriptions from the northern and middle regions of Tamilnadu mentioning religious women. Overall, Jain religious women are mentioned in 29, or 8 percent, of the 341 Jain inscriptions of the eighth to thirteenth centuries and most of these references come from eighth-century Kalugumalai. By comparison, Jain religious men are mentioned in 104 inscriptions or 30 percent of all Jain inscriptions, and references to Jain religious men are much

more evenly distributed across time and space. 6

Table 10.2 Distribution of Tamil Inscriptions Referring to Jain Religious Women				
DISTRICT	8th century	9th century	10th century	Total
Chittoor				
Chingleput				
North Arcot		1	1	2
South Arcot	1			1
Tanjavur			1	1
Tiruchirappalli				
Ramnad				
Madurai		1		1
Tirunelveli	21	1		2
Kanyakumari		2		22
Kerala				
Sri Lanka				
Coimbatore				
Salem				
Kolar				
Mysore				
Total	22	5	2	29

Although Jain religious women are less frequently and less consistently referred to in Jain inscriptions than are Jain religious men, they are relatively more prominent than are Hindu temple women. Of the over ten thousand inscriptions that were engraved on the walls of Hindu temples in the medieval period, only 304 refer to temple women. Thus, no more than 3 percent of medieval Hindu inscriptions refer to temple women. On the other hand, temple men of various sorts are mentioned much more frequently: about a quarter of all inscriptions mention temple men by name, and, if we were to take into account references to unnamed groups of male temple servants and functionaries, we would find that the vast majority of inscriptions make such references. 7

Table 10.3 shows the chronological and geographical distribution of references to Hindu temple women in the 245 inscriptions that can be dated with certainty. In contrast to Jain religious women, who are prominent only in the early medieval period and primarily at a specific site, we see a very definite increase over time in the numbers of Hindu temple women, and a much wider geographical distribution. Several of the areas where the increase in temple women's activities is most

Table 10.3 Distribution of Tamil Inscriptions Referring to Hindu Temple Women						
DISTRICT	9th century	10th century	11th century	12th century	13th century	TOTAL
Chittoor			1	1		2
Chingleput	1	1	18	11	17	48
North Arcot		6	1	3	10	20
South Arcot		3	12	6	9	30

Tanjavur	2	14	6	16	18	56
Tiruchirappalli	1	4	2	9	13	29
Ramnad		1		1	4	6
Madurai		1	2		18	21
Tirunelveli			2	2	5	9
Kanyakumari	1		1	1	5	8
Kerala		2		2	1	5
Sri Lanka			2			2
Coimbatore			1	2	1	4
Salem					1	1
Kolar			2		1	3
Mysore					1	1
	5	32	50	54	104	2
Total						

marked Tirunelveli district, Tiruchirappalli district, and North Arcot district are areas of Jain activity in the medieval period. Although Jain religious women are highly visible in the inscriptional record only in a particular time and place, it is probable that wherever Jainism was present in Tamilnadu, it offered women access to religious roles. 8 It seemed to me possible that Hindu institutions, trying to compete for support with Jainism, were concerned to provide some sort of parallel access for women and that the concept of the temple woman allowed such access. In order to investigate this possibility, we must examine the ways in which Jain religious women and Hindu temple women in medieval Tamilnadu resembled one another.

## Identities

### *Terms Applied in Tamil Inscriptions to Jain and Hindu Religious Figures*

The terms used in medieval Tamil inscriptions to refer to Jain and Hindu religious women indicate important differences between the two groups. Of the thirty-five

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Jain religious women referred to by name, twenty-seven have the name or title "*kuratti*," meaning (teacher), which was derived from Sanskrit *guru*. 9 Thirteen of the Jain religious women are termed "*manakkiyar*," (student), and are identified in terms of their relationship with a teacher (usually a woman, a *kuratti*). That the term *manakkiyar* does not designate an ordinary female lay disciple is indicated by the fact that some of the *manakkiyar* were themselves *kurattis*. Although parallel terms *kuravar* and *manakkan* are used for Jain religious men, there are several terms that seem to have been applied almost exclusively to men, and not to Jain religious women: *acirikar* or *aciriyikar* (teacher, cf. Sanskrit *acarya*), terms meaning "ascetic" (e.g. *tapasikal*, *vairagiyar*), and the honorific *atikal*. 10 It is interesting that, in inscriptional usage, these terms are less often shared by Jain religious men and women than they are by Jain and Hindu religious men. Terms meaning "ascetic" were used particularly in the case of Saiva men. In addition, Hindu religious men were designated by other terms commonly used by the Jains: *kuravar* (the masculine equivalent of *kuratti*) was applied to Hindu priests, and *mani* (a term closely related to *manakkan*/ *manakkiyar*) to the *brahmacaris* who assisted in temple worship.

But there was virtually no such overlapping between Jain and Hindu religious women. The terms used most frequently for Jain religious women *kuratti* and *manakkiyar* were never applied to Hindu temple women. In contrast to the terms used for Jain religious women, the terms applied to Hindu temple women rarely denote function. The term most commonly used to refer to temple women is *tevaratiyar*, (devotee of god), and other frequently used terms have such meanings as "daughter of god" (*tevanar makal*) or "woman of the temple" (*patiyilar* and *taliyilar*). Fewer than 10 percent of the inscriptions referring to temple women use terms for them that indicate function: only six inscriptions, for example, term them "singers" or "dancers," and only ten use terms meaning "servant" (Orr 1993, 132-46). Hindu temple women did not share in the range of terms that were applied to temple men. For the most part, Hindu religious men were identified through the use of terms that were never applied to temple women terms like those discussed above that they shared with Jain religious

men, and others that frequently conveyed an idea of the functions in the temple that were performed by men.

Although the set of terms used for Jain religious women and those used for Hindu temple women are quite distinct from one another, they share one important feature: they are terms that in form and meaning are different from those used outside of Tamilnadu. In Jain texts in Prakrit and Sanskrit, nuns are termed "*nigganthi*" (Sanskrit *nirgranthi*), "*sahuni*" (*sadhvi*), "*bhikkuni*" (*bhiksuni*), or "*ajja*" (*arya*) (Shântâ 1985, 56-57; Prasad 1972, 13-14, 95). Outside of Tamilnadu, including in nearby areas of South India, we find terms related to these especially to "*ajja*" (*arya*) in inscriptional usage.<sup>11</sup> In Kannada inscriptions from Karnataka, to the west of Tamilnadu, we also find the term "*kanti*" (or *ganti*) applied to Jain nuns, but this term and related ones do not appear in Tamil inscriptions.<sup>12</sup> There is, thus, a peculiarly Tamil usage of terms for Jain religious women.

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Similarly, the terms used in medieval Tamil inscriptions to refer to Hindu temple women have a different shape and significance from those found in other contexts. In the Agamas, the sectarian "ritual handbooks" written in Sanskrit, close to half of the references to the participation of women in temple ritual utilize terms meaning "prostitute" (Orr 1994a, 117). In medieval inscriptions from Karnataka, to the west of Tamilnadu, we find most commonly the terms "*suleyar*" (prostitute) or "*patra*" (actress) applied to temple women, while the inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, north of Tamilnadu, use the term "*sani*" (lady) (Orr 1993, 91-94). None of these terms, or terms with these meanings, are applied to temple women in the medieval Tamil inscriptions; instead, the terms used suggest the importance of the relationship between temple women and deity or temple. As in the case of the terms used for Jain religious women in these inscriptions, the terms applied to Hindu temple women indicate a local and, perhaps, distinctively Tamil definition of the roles and character of the religious woman in medieval Tamilnadu.

### *Family Relations of Jain and Hindu Religious Women*

One aspect of the identities of Jain and Hindu religious women that is *not* highlighted by the inscriptions is their involvement in relations of kinship. This lack of stress on family relationships contrasts sharply with the way in which most other women are identified in medieval Tamil inscriptions. The majority of women who were not religious women are identified with reference to kinship ties most frequently as a man's wife, and often as a man's daughter (Orr 1994c). Only two of the thirty-five Jain religious women named in Tamil inscriptions are identified with reference to family links, and only 25 of the 221 Hindu temple women named are so identified.

It may seem quite natural that Jain religious women, as renouncers, would not maintain connections with their kin. But one of the two inscriptions referring to Jain religious women's kinship links identifies a *kuratti* as a wife. This is a rather problematic family connection, given the fact that celibacy must be regarded as definitional for the Jain nun. Although it is possible, it does not seem likely that this *kuratti* was a widow, since the record of her donation is next to, and apparently contemporary with, the record of her husband's gift. Nor does it seem likely that these gifts were made on the occasion of her and her husband's joint renunciation, since the term *kuratti*, which is part of her name, indicates a senior status, and since there is no suggestion that her husband had a religious status of any sort. Although it is dangerous to draw any firm conclusions on the basis of a single inscription, the fact that there was at least one married *kuratti* does lead us to consider the possibility that Jain religious women in Tamilnadu were not formally ordained nuns. Perhaps *kurattis* and their female disciples were lay women, who were barred by Digambara policy from full ordination or whose lack of official association with the monastic order allowed them a degree of free-

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dom and opportunity that might have been denied to nuns restricted by the regulation of authoritative texts and by their subordination to monks.<sup>13</sup> Whatever the case, the existence of at least one married Jain religious woman and the absence of a terminology for Jain religious women indicating their status as nuns or ascetics, points to the fact that the distinction between "lay" and "monastic" identities was not strongly marked for these women.

For Hindu temple women, it is the mother-daughter relation that is most often referred to in the twenty-five cases where their family relations are mentioned. But there are five Hindu temple women named in medieval Tamil inscriptions who are described as wives. Although in more recent times marriage to the temple deity and *not* to a human man is seen as



being the critical feature of a temple woman's identity, this does not seem to have been the case in the period under study here. For Hindu temple women in medieval Tamilnadu, just as for Jain religious women, the boundary between lay and religious identities was not sharply drawn.

### *Association with Spiritual Lineage and with Place*

Much more important than kinship in the identification of Jain religious women was their connection, as disciples, with a teaching lineage. When the principal person mentioned in a Tamil inscription is a Jain religious woman, she is more often than not described as a "disciple" of a particular individual. The lineages relevant to Jain religious women usually involve relationships between women, but not exclusively so: there are six cases where we find a male teacher and female disciple, and one case of a female teacher and male disciple. The identification of Jain monastics with reference to their teachers is a feature that is found in inscriptions outside Tamilnadu. But the Tamil inscriptions are unique in that this identification is virtually the *only* way in which connection to the monastic order or to a religious authority is expressed. Jain religious men and women in Tamilnadu, unlike the majority of their counterparts named in inscriptions from other parts of India, are not identified in terms of their membership in a particular subdivision of the Jain community (*gana*, *gaccha*, or *sangha*). Of the 341 medieval Jain inscriptions written in Tamil, only six mention such subdivisions in connection with religious Jains, and all of these are men.<sup>14</sup>

The identification of Jain religious women with reference to their female preceptors and the identification even of a Jain religious man by this means, in one case conflicts with what the Jain texts have to say about male authority over women within the monastic order. Was the prominence of women in the Jainism of medieval Tamilnadu an isolated phenomenon, confined to a small region around Kalugumalai, in a particular historical moment? If so, why did it come into being and why did it disappear? If not, how much more widespread was this phenomenon?

We can begin to answer some of these questions by examining another important feature in the identification of Jain religious women: their connection

with a particular place. Over half of the *kurattis* and *manakkiyar* named in the inscriptions of medieval Tamilnadu are identified with reference to a specific place; Jain religious men are identified in this way in less than a third of all cases. Out of the twenty-one places mentioned in the Kalugumalai inscriptions in connection with Jain religious women, it is possible to tentatively identify eleven: one of the places mentioned is Kalugumalai itself, in four cases the place is Tiruccaranam (modern Chitalar) in Kanyakumari district to the south of Kalugumalai, five of the places mentioned seem to be in Ramnad district to the immediate north, and one is Tirupparutti (Jinakanchi) in Chingleput district, in the far north of Tamilnadu. These findings, taken together with the references to Jain religious women in inscriptions outside of Kalugumalai, lead me to believe that the prominence of women in the Jainism of Tamilnadu was not entirely localized: that the reputation of Jain religious women as teachers could become widespread, and that these women may have traveled far afield.

Identifications with reference to a place are extremely important for Hindu temple women, as well as for Jain religious women. Close to three-quarters of the Hindu temple women named in medieval Tamil inscriptions are identified in terms of a place. (About two-thirds of Hindu temple men are so identified.) The places with which the temple women were associated are very frequently the same places where we find their records, in contrast to what we have just seen in the case of Jain religious women. Thus, the orientation of Hindu temple women appears to have been more local than that of Jain religious women.

The emphasis on place is central to the Hindu devotional ethos, and epigraphical idiom, of Tamilnadu. Is the reference to place and teaching lineage that we see in the identifications of Jain religious women and men rather than religious community or monastic order an adaptation that Jains in Tamilnadu made to the prevailing cultural and religious spirit? Is it associated with a Tamil Jainism that developed independently from the Jainisms in other parts of India? A further question that is raised by these references to place, on the part of Jain religious women, concerns the nature of the relationship with that place: Is it a place of residence? This seems probable, since the places mentioned in the identifications of Jain religious women that we can locate were important Jain centers that included both monastic establishments and temples. Despite the emphasis in the Jain texts on the monastic ideal of homelessness and a life of wandering, there appear to have been many Jain religious women and men in medieval Tamilnadu who adopted a more sedentary lifestyle, residing in Jain religious centers.<sup>15</sup> But, although Jain religious women were associated in a general

way with such places, they were not connected directly to Jain institutions, as were their male counterparts. Medieval Tamil inscriptions provide considerable evidence for the involvement of Jain religious men with *pallis*: there are twenty-two records that name particular men said to belong to, act on behalf of, or receive support from a *palli* or temple. But none of the inscriptions in which Jain religious women are named link them to *pallis* or temples.<sup>16</sup> Jain religious women's prominence in medieval

Tamilnadu seems to have been predicated on their roles as teachers independent of the structure of *palli* or temple.

Activities

*Roles for Women in Jain and Hindu Institutions*

Having explored the question of how Jain and Hindu religious women were identified in medieval Tamil inscriptionsthat is, trying to discover who they werewe now turn to the question of what they were doing.

Table 10.4 illustrates the variety of roles that Jain and Hindu religious women were engaged in, as these were recorded in the inscriptions, and compares these activities with those of their male counterparts. When we look at the figures for Jain religious women and men, we find that, just as there are parallel terms and ways of identifying women and men, so, too, do women's and men's functions parallel one another in many ways. The only function from which Jain religious women are absent is the performance of "responsibility functions"taking charge of the administration of institutions or of grants.

When we compare Hindu temple women and men, on the other hand, differences in the roles of the two sexes are much greater. First of all, it is important to note that the figures in table 10.4 obscure the fact that Hindu temple men were enormously more numerous than were temple women. The numbers of Hindu temple men given in table 10.4 represent only those men who are named in published inscriptions from four small study areas. On the basis of the findings of this area study, it would appear that the bulk of Hindu temple men's activities consisted of the performance of managerial or honorary responsibility functions. Such functions are much less significant, proportionally speaking, for temple women. But Hindu temple men were also employed as temple servants or supported by the temple at least as often, proportionately speaking, as temple women (and, of course, in absolute terms, much more often), although the figures in table 10.4 do not reflect this, since they do not include unnamed male temple servantssuch as drummers, priestly assistants, and artisanswho are frequently mentioned in the inscriptions. However, the most striking difference between Hindu temple women and temple men's rolesand one which seems to be fairly represented by the percentage figures in table 10.4has to do with their activities as donors.

*Jain and Hindu Religious Women As Donors*

The activity that both Jain and Hindu religious women were most frequently engaged in was patronage, making religious endowments. Three-quarters of the inscriptions referring to Jain religious women record the gifts of these women, and close to a half of the inscriptions referring to Hindu temple women do so. In the

Table 10.4				
Jain and Hindu Religious Women and Men in Tamil Inscriptions				
Roles	Jain Religious Women	Jain Religious Men	Hindu Religious Women	Hindu Religious Men
Donor	22 (76%)	48 (46%)	133 (44%)	3 (2%)
Relative of donor		2 (2%)	38 (12%)	2 (1%)
Teacher of donor	10 (34%)	46 (44%)		
Support/Fed/	3	13	81	13

Service function*	(10%)	(12%)	(27%)	(9%)
Slave			21 (7%)	
Responsibility function**		13 (12%)	24 (8%)	105 (72%)
Other	2 (7%)	19 (18%)	12 (4%)	23 (16%)
Total	29	104	304	146
Inscriptions				

\*Support/Fed/Service function = receiving some form of support, being fed, or performing ritual, professional, or menial service

\*\*Responsibility function = administration, supervision, or management of donated funds

*Note:* Percentages represent the proportion of references to a particular role out of the total number of inscriptions mentioning Jain religious women, Jain religious men, Hindu religious women, and so forth. Percentages in columns may add up to more than 100 percent when a single inscription records several different types of roles for religious persons.

Figures for Jain women and men are drawn from JIT. Figures for Hindu religious women are from my database of all references to temple women in Chola period inscriptions (850-1 300 C.E.); figures for Hindu religious men are those in four study areas surveyed through the *Concordance*. In the case of the last-mentioned group, only *named* individuals are included, while the other three categories of religious persons include anonymous groups. (See notes 6 and 8.)

case of both these types of religious women, their activity as donors was more pronounced than that of their male counterparts. This difference is particularly evident when we compare Hindu temple women with temple men; only 2 percent of the temple men in the area study acted as donors (table 10.4).

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Among Jain religious women and men, the role of donor was more important for Jain women than it was for men, but we do not see here as radical a difference between women and men as in the Hindu case. The surprising thing is that Jain religious women and men were making donations at all. The possession of wealth, as a prerequisite of making religious endowments, is clearly inconsistent with the vow of nonpossession (*aparigraha*) that is taken by Jain monks and nuns, and that is of such central importance in the self-definition of the Digambara monastic community. Buddhists do not take such a vow when they are ordained (Kemper 1990, 153-60), and, as Gregory Schopen has clearly demonstrated on the basis of inscriptional evidence, Buddhist monks and nuns have been very active throughout India as donors (1985; 1988-89; 1992). But donative activity on the part of Jain religious men and women is rarely met with outside of Tamilnadu. 17 Here again we find a peculiarity of Jainism in Tamilnadu, and one that like the existence of prominent female teachers is problematic from the viewpoint of Jain monastic discipline.

A distinctive feature of Jain religious women's donative behavior, as compared to that of other donors whose gifts are recorded in medieval Tamil inscriptions, is the fact that fully a quarter of their gifts (six out of twenty-four) were made for the merit of another person. Such a transfer of merit, expressed through the use of the same simple formula that is found in the records left by Hindu donors, does not accord with normative Jain teachings.<sup>18</sup> Again, we may discern a characteristic that is perhaps particular to medieval Tamil Jainism. Those to whom Jain religious women transferred the merit of their gifts were invariably men in two cases a Jain religious man, most probably the donor's teacher, and in the other four instances apparently a lay man. It seems very likely that the lay men, receiving the merit of Jain religious women's gifts, were relatives perhaps the sons or fathers of the donors, given the general pattern of transfer of merit that we find in Tamil inscription, or the pattern found in Buddhist records of the gifts of monks and nuns from outside of Tamilnadu (Schopen 1984; 1985). In comparison with Jain religious women, few Jain religious men or Jain lay people transferred the merit of their gifts.<sup>19</sup>

Jain religious women and men made significant contributions to the support of Jain institutions and activities in Tamilnadu (see table 10.5). These donors were particularly active in the earlier centuries of the period under study, in sponsoring the setting up and worship of Jain images. In the later medieval period, Jain religious men ceased being so active as donors, and religious women disappeared entirely from the inscriptional record.

Hindu temples, on the other hand, subsisted almost entirely on the support of lay donors, as can be seen in table 10.5, which presents the figures for donation to Hindu institutions in four study areas. Temple women and temple men were responsible for a very small proportion of gifts made to Hindu temples. Only a tiny fraction of Hindu temple men were donors: I have, in the

Table 10.5				
Donors in Early Medieval Tamil Inscriptions				
(Donors to Jain Institutions)				
	8th-9th century	10th-11th century	12th-13th century	Total
Lay Women	12 (7%)	7 (16%)	1 (3%)	20 (8%)
Religious Women	23 (14%)	1 (2%)		24 (10%)
Religious Men	41 (25%)	9 (21%)	3 (9%)	53 (22%)
Lay Men	90 (54%)	26 (60%)	28 (88%)	144 (60%)
Total	166	43	32	241
(Donors to Hindu Institutions)				
Lay Women	1 (14%)	66 (21%)	22 (10%)	89 (17%)
Religious Women		1 (<1%)	3 (1%)	4 (1%)
Religious Men			3 (1%)	3 (<1%)
Lay Men	6 (86%)	240 (78%)	185 (87%)	431 (82%)
Total	7	307	213	527

course of my research with medieval Tamil inscriptions, discovered just nineteen such men out of the many thousands of temple men mentioned in the inscriptions. Although proportionately more active as donors than temple men, Hindu temple women were not very numerous. Nonetheless, in the course of the period from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, temple women are mentioned more and more frequently in Tamil inscriptions, and their donative activity, although still a drop in a very large bucket, was on the rise, along with their numbers. In this regard, they present an interesting contrast to the disappearing Jain religious women.

Issues

*Jain and Hindu Religious Women  
Differences and Destinies*

We have discovered that Jain and Hindu religious women in medieval Tamilnadu resembled one another in several respects: both groups engaged in donative activity, members of both groups were frequently identified with reference to a



specific place, and both types of women seem to have occupied boundary positions in the sense both of being marginal to religious institutions (*pallis* and temples), and of having identities that were not strongly marked as "religious," in ascetic or ritual terms or in contrast to "lay" identities. All these shared features, and most particularly the last, are ones which are less in evidence in the case of Jain and Hindu religious men. But there are significant differences as well as similarities between Jain and Hindu religious women, including differences in the kinds of roles, apart from acting as donors, that they played. This dissimilarity of roles is reflected in the very different types of terms applied to the two groups of women which emphasize, in the Jain case, the functional identity of teacher and, in the Hindu case, the honorary status of association with a temple.

The most striking difference between these two kinds of women, however, emerges when we consider their respective fates: in the course of the medieval period, Jain religious women disappeared from view, even in those areas of Tamilnadu where Jainism continued to survive, while Hindu temple women became increasingly visible, and ever more active in their transactions with temples. This divergence in the destinies of the two groups of religious women can, I believe, be attributed to two factors: (a) differences in the defining roles of the two groups of women, and (b) differences in the institutional base for those defining roles.

Jain religious women in medieval Tamilnadu were primarily defined as teachers. Although they often acted as donors, this activity was not the means through which they acquired their status a fact that may be indicated by their frequent transfer of the merit of their gifts. The source of their status was, instead, their connection with a female line of teachers. These female teaching lineages constituted virtually the sole institutional base upon which Jain religious women's central social and religious definition rested. This institutional base was quite different from and more limited and localized than that of Jain religious men, who were associated most often with male teaching lineages, frequently with *pallis*, and even, occasionally, with particular monastic orders (*sanghas*). The identity of "ascetic," which Jain religious men had (and shared with Hindu men) but Jain religious women did not, may refer to another type of Jain religious structure from which women were excluded. It is possible that Jain religious women's prominence in medieval Tamilnadu was due to the very fact that they were independent from such broader-based male-dominated institutions. But it may also be the case that the female teaching lineages upon which Jain religious women's survival de-

pended were too localized and too ephemeral to ensure continuation, while Jain religious men enjoyed the ongoing support of a more diversified, cosmopolitan, and entrenched institutional base.

Hindu temple women were similar to Jain religious women in that their status linked them as individuals to an institutional base, and that this base was localized and particular. But the character of Hindu religious women's institutional base the Hindu temple was very different, and the nature of the linkage forged by the Hindu temple woman to that base was quite unlike the connection made by Jain religious women. The defining roles for the medieval Hindu temple woman were that of donor and devotee, and these two roles were closely associated with one another: the Hindu temple woman acquired the status of devotee as a result of her gifts to the temple. Although the Hindu temple woman may resemble the Jain religious woman in the sense that it was through her initiative, and solely on her own behalf, that she made a connection with the institution (just as a Jain woman might have chosen a teacher and taken up a spiritual career), the institution with which the Hindu temple woman was connected was a great deal more substantial and permanent than the female teaching lineage with which the Jain woman made her link. The medieval Hindu temple of Tamilnadu occupied a well-established (and often elaborately constructed) physical space and was possessed of a corps of male functionaries, who were concerned with the ongoing conduct of its rituals and affairs. Although the Hindu temple woman's connection with the temple in her hometown was, from her perspective, an exclusively local linkage, the temple itself had not only local importance but was also part of a wider and long-established temple network. These characteristics of medieval temples created a stable context in which temple women were increasingly, in various parts of Tamilnadu, able to effectively and consistently establish themselves on the margins of male-dominated institutions.

It seems that it was those very features that Jain and Hindu religious women shared particularly their "boundary" status and their relatively localized frame of reference which had the effect of marking them off as quite distinct communities, and which, finally, make it very unlikely that there was any significant mutual influence between these two groups. The Jain religious woman would not have been the model for the Hindu temple woman. Both Jain religious women and Hindu temple women were too far removed from the core of the stable and central institutional, and pan-institutional, structures of their respective religious communities to be able to be influential or to have a widely acknowledged type of status.

They were relatively isolated from these broad-based structures, and were also isolated from one another. Jain religious women were the heart and soul of their own institutionthe female teaching lineagesbut were not involved with more permanent and cosmopolitan structures, such as the network of *pallis* in Tamilnadu, or the *sanghas* which were pan-Indian in extent. Hindu temple women were linked to permanent and cosmopolitan structuresthe templesbut, as marginal members of the temple community, distanced from central ritual and adminis-

trative duties, they had little authority or opportunity to participate in the whole range of activities and connections with which the temple was involved.

But the Jain and Hindu religious men who *were* close to the center of these institutional structures *did* have the opportunity to exert influence, to encounter one another, and to interact with one another. If the similarities between Jain and Hindu religious women effectively separated these two groups of women, the similarities between the two groups of religious men seem to have acted to reinforce commonalities in the character and development of their communities. This essay concludes with an analysis of these patterns and processes.

### *Tamil Jainism and the Impact of Jainism in Tamilnadu*

There are a number of characteristics that make Jain religious women in early medieval Tamilnadu unique: their high profile as teachers, their activity as donors, and the ways in which they were identifiedthe terms applied to them, their connections with places in the Tamil country and with teaching lineages, the absence of association with a *sangha* or other sectarian body, and the absence of an emphatically articulated ascetic identity. Jain religious men of Tamilnadu share some of these features with their female counterparts, and some of these featuresparticularly connection to a place and nonsectarianismwere also shared with Hindu religious women and men in medieval Tamilnadu. Jain religious women and men in Tamilnadu seem to have led settled lives, possessed and donated wealth, and been involved with image worship. In these respects, they appear to have had more in common with local lay Jains, or with Hindus in Tamilnadu, than they did with the established pan-Indian orthodox Jain monastic orders, as these were officially and textually constituted.

There are two problems here: first, the question of the extent to which practices in Jainism (or any other religion) ever actually conform to the normative strictures and ideals of its textual foundation; and, second, the question of the extent to which Jainism in Tamil Nadu was "local"assimilated to its context and participating in a particular cutural milieu.

Let us consider these two questions in turn. When we compare what the authoritative texts of the Jain tradition have to say about the conduct of monastic life with what medieval Tamil inscriptions tell us about the activities of Jain religious women and men, there are several striking departures of practice from text: Jain religious women did not depend on men to be their teachers, but had their own autonomous teaching lineages; Jain religious women and men led settled rather than itinerant lives; Jain religious women and men possessed and disposed of wealth as donors, sponsoring image worship and transferring the merit of their gifts to others.

It is somewhat disturbing to encounter such discrepancies. We feel that, at least in the case of members of the religious elite, there ought to be more of a

connection between textual precepts and practice. Part of our difficulty in dealing with these discrepancies has to do with the tyranny of texts, and our assumptions about the character of "canon," in the study of religions, as scholars like Schopen and Folkert have pointed out. Another aspect of the problem is related to the interpretation and evaluation of the "domesticated" monastic life, involved with local economic, social, and political realitiesjust those aspects of the lives of Jain religious men and women that the inscriptions highlightas opposed to the "pure," utterly detached, ascetic way of life. We have long held the latter ideal to be the authentic foundation of Jainism and Buddhism, and seen "domestication" as an inevitable but unfortunate falling away from this ideal (Strenski 1983). Meanwhile, recent studies have begun to call into question whether our assumptions about an "original" austere ascetic core of Jainism or Buddhism are actually supported by historical evidence (Folkert 1989; Schopen 1992). We ought, therefore, in examining the thoroughly

domesticated lives of Jain religious women and men that are revealed to us in medieval Tamil inscriptions, to be cautious in our judgments and careful in our interpretation of historical processesrefraining, for example, from judging their situation to be the product of "degeneration." Such an assessment was not, in fact, one that people in medieval Tamilnadu themselves seem to have made. In contrast to the Jain "reformist" literature written in Karnataka and in northwestern India during this period, medieval Tamil literature supplies us with no examples of debate about or polemics against the habits of Jain religious men and women who had a settled residence or handled wealth.

Deviations in practice from the normative Jain monastic rule were not unique to Tamilnadu, although these deviations were perhaps more extreme and more accepted in Tamilnadu than elsewhere. This brings us to consider the second question posed aboveof how "Tamil" medieval Tamil Jainism was. And the effort to answer this question will return us to the issue with which this essay startedthe issue of the character of the interaction between Jainism and Hinduism in Tamilnadu.

The Jain community is frequently described as being composed of four sectionsmonks, nuns, lay men, and lay womendefined by the intersecting axes of gender difference and the lay/monastic distinction. I would like to adapt this fourfold framework for use in describing the social universe of *all* religious men and women, Jain and Hindu, in medieval Tamilnadu, gathering together and comparing the different aspects of their identities and activities that I have presented in the course of this essay. I shall therefore substitute a distinction between Jain and Hindu for the lay/monastic axis. Within this fourfold schema, represented in figure 10.1 , we can plot those features which seem to distinguish the Jainism of medieval Tamilnadu from the Jainisms of other parts of India, and examine the extent to which this Tamilness was shared among all four divisionsJain religious women, Jain religious men, Hindu religious women, and Hindu religious men.

The features that seem characteristically Tamil for Jain religious women and men include: (a) the use of distinctive termsterms that do not mean "nun" or

Figure 10.1

"Tamilness" in the four-fold division of religious women and men in medieval Tamilnadu

Gender	JAIN	HINDU
WOMEN	distinctive terms: teacher identified with lineage and place (not <i>sangha</i> )donative activity	distinctive terms: devotee identified with place and temple (not sect) donative activity
MEN	distinctive terms: including teacher, ascetic identified with lineage, some-times with place and <i>palli</i> (not <i>sangha</i> )donative activity	distinctive terms: including teacher, ascetic identified with place, temple, and <i>matha</i> (usually not sect) no donative activity

"monk," but most often "teacher"; (b)the very fact that women were so frequently described as teachers; (c) identification with reference to membership in a teaching lineage, including female lineages; (d)identification, particularly on the part of Jain religious women but often by men as well, with reference to particular places; (e)frequent identification on the part of Jain religious men with reference to *pallis*; (f)the lack of sectarian emphasis or identification with monastic orders like *sanghas* or *ganas*; and (g) direct and active sponsorship of images, temple-building, and worship.

In addition to being, like Jain religious women, associated with particular places in the Tamil country through identity and patronage, and being affiliated with local teaching lineages, Jain religious men had other personas and connections that women did not, which provided a more diversified and wider institutional base. The inscriptions' use of terms for Jain religious men meaning "ascetic" or honorific terms like *atikal* shows that these men had access to certain kinds of statusand, possibly, ways of lifethat were not available to women. The frequent mention of men's affiliation with, and responsibilities within, *pallis* is indicative of types of activity and of linkages with which women were scarcely involved. Interestingly, the broader institutional context in which Jain religious men positioned themselves was almost entirely confined to Tamilnadu.

If Jain religious men's sphere of activity and self-definition did not seem to transcend geographic boundaries, it did, however, breach communal ones. Figure 10.1 shows how much Jain religious men had in common with their Hindu counterparts. The terms, including those meaning "ascetic" or "teacher," which were applied in medieval Tamil inscriptions to both Jain and Hindu (especially Saiva) religious men reflect shared notions of the nature of critical religious roles and of

the sources of religious authority. These two groups of men enacted these roles, and developed this authority, in institutions most particularly, the *palli* and the *matha* that closely resembled one another. Further, these shared roles made possible the contact between Jain and Hindu religious men about which Richard H. Davis has more to say in this volume either within the context of a common itinerant lifestyle or of intersecting institutional networks. Jain religious men's identities as ascetics and teachers, and the institution of the *palli*, organized and led by Jain religious men, could not have helped influencing the way in which the Hindu *mathas*, and Hinduism more generally, in Tamilnadu developed just as this type of Jainism, with its particular character and institutions, had been influenced by the Tamil, and Hindu, milieu in which it had grown up.

Jainism and Hinduism in Tamilnadu have shared much. Long ago, Jainism, as well as Hinduism, came to be established in and identified with the Tamil country. In the course of the evolution of these two South Indian religions, we see numerous parallels between Jains and Hindus in their religious practices and their religious institutions. We need to reevaluate the idea that Jainism was a "foreign," negative and oppressive force in the history of religion and culture in Tamilnadu. We have been looking for too long at just one side of the story, and have not paused to consider why the Hindu poet-saints protest so much. Perhaps it was the presence of so many similarities between Tamil Jainism and Hinduism that made the Saiva saints so adamant about the differences. Perhaps the developments in the Hinduism that grew up in the temples and *mathas* of medieval Tamilnadu owe something not only to borrowings from, but self-conscious rejection of Jain practices. It may be, for example, that the exclusion of women from *mathas* was part of a project of Hindu self-definition that pointedly eliminated at least one feature of Tamil Jainism: the acknowledgement of women's roles as teachers while meanwhile adopting many other features.

This essay began with a question about one possible way in which Jainism might have influenced Hinduism as it developed in medieval Tamilnadu, a suggestion which, in the end, has to be rejected. But along the way, many more questions have been raised, and still more are waiting to be asked, concerning the character of relations between these two religious communities. Our understanding of both Jainism and Hinduism, and of how religion works and how it changes, will without doubt be enriched through our efforts to answer these questions. Such efforts, using the textual and inscriptional resources available to us in medieval Tamilnadu to discover contrasts and commonalities among the diverse religious traditions of this region, have only just begun.

## Notes

This essay has been much improved by the ideas and suggestions of my colleagues in the Department of Religion at Concordia University, the participants in the 1993 meet-

ing of the Conference on Religion in South India, and the participants in the workshop in the summer of 1993 where the seeds of this volume first began to sprout. For their careful reading of and comments on earlier drafts of this essay, and for sharing their knowledge of Jainism and/or South Indian history and religion, I am especially grateful to John E. Cort, Paul Dundas, James Heitzman, Anne Monius, James Ryan, Ralph Strohl, Cynthia Talbot, and Katherine Young.

1. We find in the Tamil inscriptions references to Jain temples as *koyils* or *jinalayas*, but the term *palli* is more frequently applied to Jain temples, and more often means "temple" than it does "monastery."
2. On the regulation of Jain nun's lives, see Deo 1956; Shanta 1985; Jaini 1991; and Balbir 1994.
3. Medieval Tamil inscriptions are silent on the question of sectarian affiliation, and, although Jains in Tamilnadu today are Digambaras, literary evidence concerning the sectarian identities of Jains in medieval Tamilnadu is somewhat ambiguous. While most descriptions of Jain monks and nuns that we find in the literature of fifth- to ninth-century Tamilnadu conform closely to the Digambara model in which mendicants are allowed a strict minimum of possessions and male mendicants are required to relinquish clothing, the image is not altogether consistent. That there were in South India groups "intermediate" between the Digambaras and the Svetambaras, or variations in practice within groups, is suggested by the presence in medieval times of the Yapaniyas in Karnataka, which lies to the west of Tamilnadu (Desai 1957, 163-



70; Jaini 1991, 41-108). This group, according to Jain textual accounts, was regarded as a more moderate (or deviant) Digambara sect; there are numerous inscriptional references in northern Karnataka to this group, and even a single reference to the Yapaniya-sangha in a ninth-century inscription from Chingleput district in northern Tamilnadu (JIT 29).

4. Outside of Tamilnadu, we find in the inscriptions from Mathura, of the first few centuries C.E., references to Jain religious women as the teachers of female lay disciples, but the religious women were themselves the students of male teachers (EI I:14; Shântâ 1985, 131-33). In later North Indian inscriptions, there are extremely few references to Jain religious women, although lay women are mentioned; virtually all of the Jain preceptors and leaders referred to in the medieval inscriptions of Rajasthan and Gujarat are men (Shântâ 1985, 136-52; Shastri 1989, 141-44; Sharma 1993, 66-73). In South India, the inscriptions of Karnataka mention Jain religious women, but their teachers were (with a single exception) male, as were the great majority of teachers of female and male lay disciples (Desai 1957, 104-62; Shântâ 1985, 160-62; Settâ 1989, 10, 99-100; cf. Singh 1975, 129-30).

5. I have relied on Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam's list (JIT) as a guide in constructing my database of Tamil Jain inscriptions, referring for the texts of these inscriptions to EI, IPS, KVR, and SII. All the inscriptions considered here are written in Tamil and are datable to the period of A.D. 700-1300. The database I draw on in my discussion of Hindu religious women (and other aspects of medieval Hindu temple life) is the product of an extensive survey of published and unpublished inscriptions (Orr 1993).

6. I define the categories of Jain "religious men" and Hindu "religious men," or "temple men" in a similar way to that used in the case of their female counterparts: they

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are men who are described in the inscriptions as being associated with, serving in, or receiving regular support from a religious institution, or who are identified by the use of certain terms.

7. The figure for the proportion of inscriptions that mention Hindu temple men by name has been arrived at by surveying the published inscriptions of the Chola period (A.D. 850-1300) in four study areas, using the *Concordance* of Karashima, Subbarayalu, and Matsui as a guide. The four study areas are Kulattur taluk in Tiruchirappalli district, Kumbakonam taluk in Tanjavur district, Tirukkoyilur taluk in South Arcot district, and Kanchipuram taluk in Chingleput district.

8. A number of recent studies (Shântâ 1985; Holmstrom 1988; Reynell 1987, and 1991) have contributed to our appreciation of the variety of ways, many of which do not obtain public recognition, in which women in contemporary India are active participants in Jain religious life, both as nuns and laywomen.

9. I have come across only a single literary reference to the term *kuratti*, in a poem by the seventh-century (?) Saiva poet-saint Campantar. A bilingual Sanskrit/Tamil inscription of the sixth century, the Pallankoil copperplate grant of the Pallava king Simhavarman (JIT 502), casts some light on the meaning of the term *kurattior*, at least, its masculine equivalent, *kuravar*. This inscription uses the Sanskrit *gani* as an equivalent for Tamil *kuravar*. *Gani* (and the female equivalent *ganini*) is the term used in various Jain texts to describe the head of a group of monks (or nuns) (Prasad 1972, 207, 212). This suggests that the *kuravar* and *kurattis* referred to in Tamil inscriptions of the eighth to thirteenth centuries had a high and official religious status in the Jain community.

10. *Atikal*, and terms related to the Sanskrit *acarya*, seem always to designate men, and there are only two inscriptions where a term meaning "ascetic" clearly applies to Jain religious women (JIT 357 = SII 3.92; JIT 503).

11. The term *ajji* (or *ajjika*) appears in inscriptions from Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh in South India, and is related to the literary Prakrit/Sanskrit *ajja/arya* (or *aryika*), an "honoured" or "noble" woman (Singh 1975, 128; Hanumantha Rao 1973, 176). Related terms (*ayika*, *ayya*) are found in the oldest Jain inscriptions, those from Mathura (see, e.g., EI I:14, ed. G. Bühler). In contemporary usage in North India, the term *aryika* is used for Digambara nuns (Shântâ 1985).

12. *Kanti* is a contracted form of *kavanti* or *kavantikai*, a word that in Tamil refers to a quilted cover made of rags, presumably the clothing worn by nuns (Burrow and Emeneau 1961, 5, 94; Nandi 1973, 72-73). Although this term does not appear in Tamil inscriptions, it is used in medieval Tamil literature. It is found once in the Tamil text *Civakacintamani*, referring to a Jain nun (Ryan 1998). The related term *kavunti* (or *kavunti*) appears in *Cilappatikaram* as the name for the Jain nun who accompanies Kannaki and Kovalan on their journey to Madurai. There is also, in Tamil literary tradition, a shadowy figure named Kanti, presumably a Jain nun, who is credited with (or blamed for) several

interpolations in *Paripatal* and *Civakacintamani* (Gros 1968, xiii; Zvelebil 1975, 24-25, 176n).

13. Such a situation may be found in contemporary Sri Lanka, where many of the Buddhist "precept women" find it advantageous to be on the border between lay and

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*bhikkhuni* status, and fear that they would have to sacrifice their independence were it made possible for them to become fully ordained *bhikkhunis* (Bloss 1987, 18-19, 25-26). While most scholars assume that the *kurattis* of medieval Tamil were nuns (Desai 1957, 66-67, 76-77; Nandi 1973, 75), others apparently consider these female teachers and their disciples to be lay women (KVR, 193). Among Jains there is a long-standing tradition of lay asceticism, as outlined in the *śrāvaka* texts which began to be composed in the early part of the first millennium C.E., and as evidenced in the conduct of contemporary lay Jains particularly women (Williams 1963; Jaini 1979, 80, 160, 188-90; Reynell 1987, 1991; Carrithers 1991, 278-80).

14. On the early importance, and persistence, of the identification of Jain monks and nuns in terms of *gana*, *gaccha*, and *sangha*, see Deo (1956, 553-58); Settar (1989, 9-11, 33-36); and Folkert (1993, 156-60). In Tamil inscriptions, we find two mentions of the Vira-sangha (JIT 11 and 472), one reference each to the Mula-sangha (JIT 160), and the Yapaniya-sangha (JIT 29), and two references to the Nandi-sangha (JIT 503, and 320) one of which identifies the Nandi-sangha as a subdivision of the Dravida-sangha. It is interesting that the Dravida-sangha, which tradition associates with Madurai in the Tamil country (Zvelebil 1975, 58-59), is mentioned only once in the Tamil inscriptions, although there are numerous references to the Dravida-sangha in medieval inscriptions from Karnataka (Desai 1957, 221-24; Singh 1975, 119-25).

15. This phenomenon is not unique to medieval Tamilnadu. In northwestern India and Karnataka, from early in the first millennium C.E. and among both Svetambaras and Digambaras, we find evidence of Jain mendicants taking up a settled life, and of reactions against this pattern of life on the part of other Jain mendicants (Nandi 1973, 59-68; Singh 1975, 100-7, 116-19; Jaini 1979, 306-11; Dundas 1987-88; and Carrithers 1991, 276-85). Through much of the period of the last fifteen centuries, throughout India, it would seem that both settled and itinerant Jain monastic habits have co-existed.

16. There are a handful of inscriptional references to women's connections with *pallis* or temples, but none of these mention Jain religious women by name: one inscription refers to a "*penpalli*," (a women's *palli*) JIT 361= SII 7:56); in another, there is the mention of male and female ascetics of a *palli*, which is headed by a man (JIT 503); and we have two inscriptions that refer to Jain religious women as "*koyirpillaikal*" (children of the temple), and indicate that permanent arrangements for their support were made.

17. Desai (1957, 136, 144, 384-85) mentions only two cases of Jain nuns, and one of a Jain monk, acting as donors in Karnataka. Inscriptions from Rajasthan and Gujarat do not indicate that Jain religious were donors (Shastri 1989; Sharma 1993). Inscriptions from Mathura, dating from the early centuries of the Christian era, record the gifts of Jain lay people made at the request of members of the Jain monastic order, including nuns (*aryas*). But in the medieval Tamil inscriptions, this is clearly not the type of transaction taking place.

18. In medieval Tamil inscriptions, including Jain inscriptions, the transfer of merit is indicated by the statement that a gift was made which was "connected to" (*cartti*) the recipient of the benefit of the donation. Although early medieval Tamil inscriptions, in contrast to inscriptions from other regions and later Tamil inscriptions, do not use terms (e.g. *punya*) explicitly denoting "merit," the concept of the transfer of merit is clearly conveyed

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by the formula used (Orr 1993, 3 6-17, 356-57). The normative Jain position, which does not admit of the possibility of such a transfer of merit, is discussed by Jaini (1983, 233-36).

19. Among Jain donors, 7 percent of lay men's gifts were made for the benefit of another (usually a family member), none of the gifts made by lay women were so designated, and one (2 percent) Jain religious man's gift was made for the merit of his teacher (JIT 143). The transfer of merit was in any case relatively rare: it is a feature of only about 4 percent of all medieval Tamil records of donations. It is even less common in the case of Hindu temple women's gifts, which were

made for the benefit of another in only three instances, or 2 percent of all instances (Orr 1993, 356-57).

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## Chapter Eleven

### The Story of the Disappearing Jains

#### Retelling the Saiva-Jain Encounter in Medieval South India

*Richard H. Davis*

#### The Problem

When I was in India researching medieval south Indian Saiva temple ritual, I seemed to encounter evidence of Jainism recurrently, lurking just on the outskirts of my attention like *bhutas* hovering outside the temple precincts. Jains kept turning up in different and seemingly contradictory ways. When I visited early Saiva temple sites, like Kalukumalai and Narttamalai, I would often find that Jain caves and rock-cut relief sculptures were there as well, more modest and presumably earlier than the Saiva structures that shared their sites. At the Tanjore Art Gallery the curator gleefully showed me, almost hidden among the many Cola-period Saiva images, a sculpture he identified as two Jain figures showing their devotion to a Siva-*linga*.

Were these signs of early Tamil religious ecumenism or of displacement and appropriation? The Saiva literary evidence certainly indicated the latter. I read the stories of the Tamil Saiva saints Appar and Sambandhar, of the conversions of Pallava and Pandya rulers and subsequent persecutions of Jains in Katalur and Madurai. I also learned of the bitter anti-Jain polemic in the Tevaram poetry of these two saints. It seemed clear that the Saiva *bhaktas* of the seventh century regarded Jain monks as their primary competitors for royal and social patronage in Tamilnad, and used a highly pejorative characterization of Jainism to support their own claims to favor.

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However, when I turned to the South Indian Sanskrit Agama texts I was studying, I found another story. From what little I knew of Jain doctrine, I sensed similarities with Saiva Siddhanta, and this has been confirmed whenever I have presented Saiva Siddhanta material at conferences. I was repeatedly approached afterwards with the comment, "That sure sounds like the Jain notion of *karma* (or liberation, or soul)." Saiva Siddhanta and Jainism do appear to share several fundamental attitudes and concepts, suggesting not a wholesale rejection of one by the other, but rather a free, long-term interchange of ideas between the two schools.

My question was: How does one make sense of these seemingly conflicting observations? Can one fit these bits of data into a coherent historical narrative? In this essay, I will review the existing scholarly literature on the encounter of Saivism and Jainism in early medieval South India. This literature, I will argue, oversimplifies and distorts the historical and literary evidence. From a critique of this conventional depiction, I wish to suggest how we might formulate a richer, more interactive model for understanding this encounter, and more generally for revising the way in which historians of religion locate Jains within the larger terrain of Indian cultural and religious history.

#### The Standard Narrative

There is a standard historical narrative concerning South Indian Jainism and Saivism, which tells a story of heterodox challenge and Hindu revival and triumph. By "standard narrative" I mean a conventional way the encounter of Jainism and Saivism is related, a discursive formation that tends to replicate itself in many scholarly works. Prime examples of this narrative may be found in the works of many historians of South India such as C. Minakshi (1938), M. S. Ramaswami Ayyangar and B. Seshagiri Rao (1922, 59-72), and Kamil Zvelebil (1973, 195-97). K. A. Nilakanta Sastri gives its most authoritative formulation in his many works (1963, 1964, 1984, 1987).

According to the standard narrative, Jains and Buddhists have been present and active in Tamilnad from at least the

second century B.C.E., thanks to their early missionary efforts, and "harmony and mutual tolerance" among faiths prevailed through the Sangam period. 1 In the fifth and sixth centuries, the heterodox schools of Jainism and Buddhism reached their greatest popularity in Tamilnad, and began to pose a grave threat to the orthodox faiths: Jains and Buddhists denied the authority of the revealed word, denied God, and the Buddhists even denied the notion of a soul. Some historians relate this challenge to a change in Tamil ethos, negatively characterized as "pessimism."

The joyous faith in good living that breathes through the poems of the Sangam age gradually gives place to the pessimistic outlook on life that is, in the last resort, traceable to the em-

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phasis laid by Buddhism on the sorrows of life and its doctrine that the only way to escape was the repression of the will to live. (Nilakanta Sastri 1984, 94-95)

The atmosphere of religious tolerance came to an abrupt end in the seventh century, goes the narrative, coincident with the expansion of Pallava hegemony in Tondaimandalam and Colamandalam. Vigorous new proponents of devotional Saivism, and to a lesser extent Vaisnavism as well, traveled the country in a "great Hindu revival," singing their hymns and bringing about the downfall of the Jains and Buddhists throughout South India (C. Minakshi 1938, 230). Jain sites were taken over by the aggressive revivalists, monasteries like the esteemed Pataliputra (near Cuddalore) were dismantled, and Jain Tirthankaras replaced by Siva *lingas*. The devotional revival engaged Saivas and Vaisnavas in a "common mission" against their heterodox opponents, free from the "sectarian hostility" that would later divide the two Hindu communities in South India (Nilakanta Sastri 1984, 636).

The transition brought about by this "Hindu revival" is most often personified in the dramatic conversion story of the Saiva saint Appar and the Pallava king Mahendravarman, first told in the twelfth century *Periyapuranam* of Cekkilar. Appar was born in an orthodox Saiva family of the Vellala community, but at an early age he was attracted to Jainism and entered the Jain monastery at Pataliputra, where the monks gave him a new Sanskrit name, Dharmasena. His elder sister was distraught by his conversion and sought help from Siva. The god answered her pleas, the story goes, and Dharmasena contracted an abdominal disorder that none of the Jain physicians could cure. Finally, Dharmasena asked his sister for help. Through the grace of Siva at Tiruvatikai she cured him, and Dharmasena returned from Jainism back to his family faith. The Jain community was enraged by his defection, and brought false charges against him before the Pallava king, usually identified as Mahendravarman (though Cekkilar does not mention his name). Mahendravarman obligingly persecuted Appar, until Appar at length persuaded the king of the truth of Saivism. From then on Mahendravarman redirected his sovereign oppression against the Jains.

Burton Stein presents the most satisfying historiographical version of the standard narrative. Following the sage principle that an ideological shift does not take place in a social vacuum, Stein (1967-68, 229-69; and 1980, 76-83) argues that the prevalence of heterodoxy in the fifth and sixth centuries should be related to the mysterious "Kalabhra interregnum." He portrays this as the period in which non-peasant peopleupland and possibly alien warrior groups made their strongest bid to control the growing peasant population of the fertile Tamil plains and river deltas. These non-peasants found in Jainism and Buddhism congenial ideologies that enabled them to claim "Aryan" legitimacy without needing to accept all aspects of Hindu Brahmanical and peasant culture. The "revival" led by the Saiva and Vaisnava saints, in Stein's account, was an assertion of the famous

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"Brahman-peasant alliance" that became the basis of Tamil social organization for many centuries henceforth. Both Pallava and Pandya rulers participated in this social transformation; they converted to the Hindu faiths promoted by the *bhakti* revivalists at the same time that they extended their control over the lowlands. Such omelets as the Brahman-peasant alliance were not made without breaking a few eggs, and in this case the victim eggs were the plucked scalps of the Jain monks, who were persecuted (according to the later literary accounts of *Periyapuranam*) in both Pallava and Pandya domains.

Stein's identification of Jain interests with the non-peasant "Kalabhra" groups fits well with the form that Saiva polemic against them takes. As Indira V. Peterson shows in "Sramanas Against the Tamil Way" (in this volume), the central thrust



of the Saiva Nayanmar polemic was to characterize Jain monks as alien Others. They are derided for their ascetic practices, for their false doctrines that keep them ignorant of Siva, and for their opposition to the Vedas and the Brahmanic tradition. They are even alleged to be strangers to the Tamil and Sanskrit languages. The Saiva poets present a vision of Tamil society and culture with themselves and their deity at its center, Peterson argues, and they place the Jain monks decidedly outside the pale. 2

As a result of the great Hindu revival of the seventh and eighth centuries, the standard narrative concludes, the once-powerful communities of Jains and Buddhists in Tamilnad met their demise. By the beginning of the Cola period, Hinduism was triumphant, and the few Jains remaining in the region were compelled to tailor their beliefs and practices to prevailing fashion. Historical accounts of later South India barely mention Jainism.

### The Standard Narrative Questioned

I do not propose that we overturn this standard narrative completely. It has much to recommend it. Undoubtedly there was a shift in public religion in Tamilnad between the time of Hsuan Tsang's visit in 640 C.E., when he observed Jains dominating the Pallava capital of Kanchipuram, and the end of the Cola period, when Jains no longer played a significant public or political role. The Hindu *bhakti* poets did direct a powerful criticism against their Jain and Buddhist opponents, and we can assume that this critique did make an impact on its Tamil audience.

However, it is necessary to consider what the standard narrative entails and what it leaves out. First, it collapses a social and religious conflict into a short time period and dramatizes the transformation in personal conversion stories, thereby suggesting that devotionally recharged Hinduism replaced Jainism and Buddhism in southern India quickly and completely. Second, it tends to essentialize religious formations like Jainism and Hinduism as cohesive and bounded religious communities with relatively fixed traditions of doctrine and practice. By questioning

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these assumptions, we can lay the groundwork for a more dynamic, interactive view of the Saiva-Jain encounter in South India.

By reducing the ideological conflict between Jainism and Tamil Hinduism to a single moment—the great *bhakti* revival of the seventh century—the standard narrative ignores or unduly deemphasizes the continued presence of Jainism in Tamilnad thereafter. However, Jains appear to have been adept at ceding one hillside site, as they apparently did at Narttamalai, and moving over to the next one.

The inscriptional record indicates that Jains continued to be present and active in Tamil society throughout the Pallava and Cola periods, as compilations by P. B. Desai (1957) and R. Champakalakshmi (1978) demonstrate. In her study of "Jain and Hindu Religious Women" in this volume, Leslie C. Orr affirms that Jainism was still vital in Tamilnad through the period of the imperial Colas, and only in the thirteenth century was there a significant reduction in inscriptional references to Jains and Jain institutions. Epigraphical studies, then, point to a much more gradual consolidation of Hindu dominance in southern India, occupying some five or six centuries.

Likewise, Jains in Tamilnad continued to write and teach. Kamil Zvelebil (1975, 171-77) lists a number of significant Jain works in Tamil from the later Pallava and Cola periods, including moral treatises, meditation manuals, fairy tales, polemical works, and epic poems, such as the tenth-century *Civakacintamani*. In "Erotic Excess and Sexual Danger in the *Civakacintamani*" (in this volume), James Ryan describes this major Jain literary work, which clearly aimed as offering a compelling and comprehensive vision of the world as ambitious as any South Indian Hindu literary work of the period. Indeed, the massive twelfth-century *Periyapurāṇam* of Cekkilar, the hagiographical epic of the sixty-four Saiva Nayanmars, was composed precisely to counter the influence the *Civakacintamani* was enjoying at the Cola court of Kulottunga II or so goes the Saiva tradition first reported by Umapati in the fourteenth century (Zvelebil 1975, 178-79). In the vigor of its anti-Jain narratives, the *Periyapurāṇam* itself indicates that Jainism was still perceived as a significant ideological threat by twelfth-century Tamil Saivas.

This is not just a quibble about dates. If the encounter between Saivas and Jains in Tamilnad is presented in terms of a single, irresistible "Hindu revival" sweeping all before it, this leaves little or no time for interchange, dialogue, or productive debate between the two religious communities. However, if the brief encounter in fact stretched over some five hundred years, this opens up a very great deal of time for the two groups to interact.

In the standard narrative, Jainism is generally presented as a self-standing, unitary religious formation that is pan-Indian, conservative, pessimistic, renunciatory, and ascetic in its essential orientation. As in many scholarly depictions of Jainism, this narrative often contrasts a supposedly pure, original Jain doctrine that is (in Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson's phrase) the "heart of Jainism" with a "degenerated" Jain practice filled with half-understood "Hindu influences" intended to

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appeal to the masses. When the Jains of Tamilnad were marginalized by the great *bhakti* revival, the narrative would have it, they became "Hinduized."

To question this account, it is important to begin by noting the internal diversity of Jainism. From medieval inscriptions, Leslie C. Orr points to some of these divisions within the Jain community of Tamilnad, and she also suggests that there may have been a distinctive regional school of Tamil Jainism. More than this, we need to reconsider the issue of religious boundaries and interchanges.

Let us take as an example the Jain temple near Kancipuram. At Tiruparuttikunram, a suburb of Kanchipuram often termed the "Jina Kanchi," the Jains were able to build a substantial stone temple during the reign of the Pallava ruler Narasimhavarman II (700-28), self-proclaimed Saiva Siddhantin and builder of an imposing imperial Saiva temple, Kailasanatha. In their temple at Tiruparuttikunram, T. N. Ramachandran (1934) points out, the Jains incorporated "Hindu" gods as *ksetrapalas*, protectors of the domain. Following the standard narrative, Ramachandran views this as a symptom of Jain subordination. He quotes Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson: "the character of Jainism . . . was such as to enable it to throw out tentacles to help it in its hour of need" (1915, 18). So the Jains passively accepted Hindu elements like the minor gods as a strategy for survival, and Hinduism "opened its capacious bosom to receive it." However, the incorporation of Hindu gods into a Jain temple can alternatively be seen as a conscious representation of a specifically Jain "scale of forms." <sup>3</sup> In this Jain vision of the cosmos, Hindu gods take their place as rather lowly "protectors," now admittedly ruling the dominion (*ksetra*) but decidedly inferior in the Jain hierarchical classification of souls presented by the overall layout of images in the temple. It is a matter of hierarchizing appropriation of Hindu deities, not of Hindu influence overcoming passive Jains.

As James Ryan indicates, most scholars have characterized the predilection for the erotic in the *Civakacintamani* as a cynical effort to spice up drab Jain doctrinal material with some entirely un-Jain cheesecake. The price the Jains paid in attempting to adapt to their lowly situation through imitation was to become indistinguishable from Hindus. But here, too, as Ryan shows, there is an alternative way of looking at the epic, which gives greater credit to the author's Jain craftiness. Tiruttakkatevar deploys his "secular" erotic material strategically, to develop and enhance his Jaina message by subverting the erotic and pointing the way towards austerities.

These examples suggest we look at the so-called "Hindu elements" in south Indian Jainism not as the product of degeneration or osmosis in a predominantly Hindu environment, but rather as parts of a shared religious culture where divine figures, literary tropes, and ritual forms could all be reincorporated, reformulated, and resituated for polemical purposes.

The notion of "revival" that runs through the standard narrative assumes Hindu unity and continuity, and its clear separation from the heterodox faiths. The form of Saivism that took shape under Pallava and Cola regimes is portrayed

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as historically continuous, either with Vedic, Brahmanical tradition ultimately imported from the north (Nilakanta Sastri, Stein), or with some largely postulated indigenous Tamil *bhakti* tradition (Hart 1975), or more subtly with a interaction between these two (Hardy 1983). Jainism appears here as an external threat, but one that had no significant impact on the content or form that Tamil Saivism actually took.

This reification of South Indian Hinduism should be questioned on several fronts. First, we need to keep in mind the internal diversity of the "Hinduism" that was emerging at this time. There were divisions between those who worshiped Visnu as the highest deity and those devoted to Siva. Those primarily committed to Vedic ritual patterns (called Vaidikas or Smartas) distinguished themselves from those of the theistic schools like Pañcaratra, Pasupata, and Saiva Siddhanta,

who involved themselves more centrally in the new temple liturgies. Even among those who called themselves Saiva Siddhanta, or who were later labeled as such, there was a division between the devotional orientation of the Nayanmars and the more ritual orientation of the "Saiva Brahmanas."

While the Nayanmars celebrated the nascent Saiva temple cult in Tamil verse, the liturgy of those temples was being formulated in Sanskrit Agama texts. By the ninth and tenth centuries, Saiva Siddhanta had emerged as the primary systematic school of philosophy and ritual practice growing out of the Saiva Agamas. A priesthood of five endogamous clans called themselves "Saiva Brahmanas," though they were quite possibly an indigenous group of ritualists claiming Brahmanic status rather than clans descended from the Vedic Brahmanic clans (Brunner 1964). Transmitting the Agamas among themselves and their initiates, they came to control the network of temples in Tamilnad. While these Saiva Siddhantins surely shared in, and profited from, the Nayanmar project of placing the devotional cult of Siva at the center of Tamil society, their formulation of Saivism tended towards the ascetic and ritualistic (like Jains), while the Nayanmars (along with the Vaisnava Alvars) were pioneering "emotional *bhakti*" and seeking to reformulate Tamil cultural identity. Their outlook (like the Jains) was primarily pan-Indian and universalizing, in contrast to the more local and regional perspective of the Nayanmars.

Second, one should not underestimate the role of innovation in the forms of South Indian Hinduism of the seventh through tenth centuries. The Saiva Nayanmars and Vaisnava Alvars certainly drew upon pan-Indian, Sanskritic forms of knowledge concerning the mythologies and theologies of Siva and Visnu, and they certainly made skilled use of the rhetorical patterns and literary conventions of earlier Tamil poetry. However, in what Hardy (1983) and others call "emotional *bhakti*," they were inventing something basically new in Indian culture. Likewise, the new royal temple cult pioneered in South India by Pallava rulers beginning with Mahendravarman constituted, as Nicholas Dirks (1976) has argued, a fundamental shift in the bases upon which royal authority was religiously grounded. The liturgical system developed within the Saiva Agama texts employed Vedic

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ritual schemes, but carefully reformulated them in ways calculated to demonstrate the distinctiveness and superiority of Saiva siddhanta (Davis 1988). What emerged in South India during this period was something fundamentally new. It was not a reassertion of Vedic practice or Brahmanic orthodoxy, nor a reemergence of autochthonous Tamil culture, but a new and complex religious formation that drew upon these sources and upon Jainism as well.

## Productive Encounters

How did the encounter with Jainism bear upon the development of South Indian Saivism during the Pallava and Cola periods? At this point, we can only collect some observations and make suggestions for further inquiry.

Even those who most overtly and vehemently opposed the culture of Jainism in Tamilnad also made strategic use of it. With a pleasing dialectical turn, Peterson argues in "Sramanas against the Tamil Way" that, even as they criticized Jain monks as alleged outsiders, the Saiva Nayanmar polemicists were simultaneously attempting to constitute themselves and their religious innovations as "insiders." At this moment of social change, the *bhakti* poets were engaged in constructing a new sense of Tamil identity, incorporating Vedic, Sangam, and Saiva values and practices, and they needed a clearly distinguishable Other to set this forth. Their rhetorical misrepresentation of Jainism gave them what they needed. In this sense, the self-conscious regional identity constructed by the early medieval *bhakti* saints eventually eclipsed the earlier vision of Tamil regional identity offered by the fifth-century Jain text, *Cilappatikaram*.

While the Nayanmars set up the Jains as their *bete noire*, the more ascetic and ritualistic Saiva Brahmanas made more positive use of their encounter with Jainism. Many of the doctrines and practices outlined in the Saiva Agamas, composed or put in final form during this period, show interesting and suggestive parallels with those of the Jains.

The strongest relationship between Jain doctrine and that of Saiva Siddhanta lies in the area of soteriological program. 4 Both Jains and Siddhantins conceive of a plurality of distinct animate, immaterial entities, which they call "souls" (*jiva*, *atman*), and whose predominant attribute is consciousness (*cetana*). In its inherent state, this soul would enjoy great bliss and potency, but unfortunately it is encumbered by bondage. Saivas recognize three fetters (*pasas*) that bind the soul (*mala*, *karma*, *maya*), but when it comes to the mechanics of liberating oneself, they focus primarily on *karma*, just as the Jains do. The Jains, asserts Padmanabh Jaini, "stand alone in asserting unequivocally that *karma* is itself actual *matter*, rather than the sort of quasi-physical or psychological elements envisioned by other schools" (1979, 112). This statement

requires one significant exception. The Saiva Siddhantins also characteristically regard *karma* as real and substantive, not as psychological or causal sequences. The path to liberation is marked

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by the gradual reduction and removal of *karma*. For Saivas this is accomplished through a ritual speeding-up of the process of consumption (*bhoga*) during initiation (*diksa*), while for the Jains the methods of asceticism and insight effectively counteract *karma*.

In spite of its theistic shading, the Saiva Siddhanta conception of the state of liberation is not so different from that of the Jains. Siddhantins may criticize the Jain metaphor for *moksa*. A hollow gourd encased in an iron cage and submerged under water, say the Jains, will float upwards when released from its bondage. 5 But this notion of "floating upwards," reply the Siddhantins, implies movement and finitude of the soul, while Saivas aver that the soul is pervasive and unmoving in its liberated state. Saivas wish to become similar to Siva in their liberation, rather than float to the highest point in the cosmos. Yet, in contrast to other Indian schools that postulate a monist merging with some absolute or reify a dualistic hierarchical relationship of devotion, both Jains and Siddhantins emphasize the continued separation and autonomy (*kaivalya*) of liberated souls, existing after *moksa* as distinct, empowered, unfettered, immaterial beings.

One may also locate parallels of Jainism and Saiva Siddhanta in ritual practice: in the prominence accorded to *diksa*, for example, or in the self-purificatory phase (*atmasuddhi*) of image-worship. C. Caillat (1981) has shown that the peculiar Saiva figure referred to as *sadhaka*, an initiated adept who seeks individual powers through the mastery of *mantras*, bears a significant resemblance to Jain adepts classified as *atmacintaka-nirapeksa*. Their repertoires of special physical and psychic austerities may well have formed part of a shared body of ascetic practices, common to these two and other renunciatory groups as well.

The historians R. N. Nandi (1973) and C. Sivaprakasam (1983) have argued that the Saiva monastic institution, the *matha*, which became an important organizing center in Tamil Saivism during the Cola period, was probably derived from the Jain monasteries prevalent in Tamilnad as early as the fifth century.

Despite these doctrinal, practical, and institutional parallels, however, Saiva Siddhantins were well aware they were not Jains, and at key moments they signaled their difference. Saiva Agama texts like the eleventh-century *Somasam-bhupaddhati* often prescribe an expiatory ritual known as "*vratoddhara*" or "*lingoddhara*" (removal of the marks), intended especially for those who wished to convert from other schools of thought like Jainism or Vedanta to Saiva Siddhanta.<sup>6</sup> Those aspiring to become Saivas had first to "redescend" from whatever level they had reached following their previous religious pathway, forfeiting any "fruits" they had thereby acquired, before they could reascend along the Saiva path by undergoing initiation into the Saiva community.

As John E. Cort has noted in a recent study of Jain *bhakti* (1992), there is a risk in trying to locate specific lines of influence within a pluralistic, interactive, and mutually polemical religious environment such as existed in early medieval Tamilnad. (See also Orr, this volume.) Saiva Siddhanta was, I would argue, consciously eclectic as it gradually formulated its system of knowledge and practice.

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It appropriated from many sources and carefully reformulated those borrowings in accord with its own fundamental premises. One can show that Siddhanta authors drew from Vedic and Smarta traditions, from Samkhya, from Patanjali yoga, from Pañcaratra, and from earlier Pasupata Saivas as well as from the Jains. In drawing from the Jains, however, they were reaching outside the supposed Hindu boundary established by the Vedic-acceptance litmus test (which they certainly drew much less sharply than we historians of Indian religions have), and into the camp of their alleged doctrinal and cultural antagonists. It seems clear that, in historical practice, the division between religious schools that affiliated themselves with Brahmanical textual traditions (usually labeled "orthodox") and those not so affiliated (labeled "heterodox") was never so sharp or deep as to preclude debate and strategic borrowing.

Concluding Remarks



When histories of Indian religions are written, the Jains are invariably located near the beginning, as part of the "*sramana* movement" (as it is often called) of the seventh through fifth centuries B.C.E. In a period of dramatic social change and intellectual ferment, goes the story, charismatic teachers developed and promoted new systems of thought and practice which formed the basis for Buddhist, Jain, and Ajivaka religions. At this point in the historical narrative, the primary tenets of these religions are set forth. The Jains then disappear from view for the remainder of the history. 7

This method of locating Jainism within the narrative of Indian religious history suggests that, for a brief time, the heterodox religious movements of the Buddhists and Jains mounted a serious challenge to the Hindu orthodoxy of the Vedic corpus and Brahmanic intelligentsia. Hinduism responded to this challenge by developing new theistic doctrines, mythologies, and practices, and successfully regained the upper hand in Indian religious culture. Buddhism went on to become an international religious tradition spread through much of Asia, while the Jains allowed themselves to become peripheralized as an insular religious minority. Thus, Jainism is identified solely with its earliest doctrinal formulation, and its historical significance is confined to the single moment of heterodox challenge to Vedic hegemony.

Jain specialists know better, of course. Recent historical surveys of Jain religion, such as that of Paul Dundas (1992), treat the Jain community not just as it was in the beginning, but as a growing, changing, innovating, internally diverse religious group. Jain scholars recognize that in medieval India great Jain authors and polymaths like Jinasena and Hemacandra offered cosmopolitan, comprehensive visions of the way the world is and should be organized, and prominent Jain monks participated and sometimes prevailed in the court debates of major dynasties like the Rastrakutas and Solankis. It is the rest of us, who approach Indian

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social or religious history from other perspectives, who are most liable to fall into the mental patterns established by the surveys where we first encountered the Jains and their limited role in Indian historiography. We leave Jain studies, rather like the Jains themselves, as something of a marginal pursuit. Only if we are forced by the recurrent shadowy presence of Jains in the inscriptions or monuments or texts we study, as I was while working on Saiva ritual, do we pay Jainism more serious attention as a continuing, active religious tradition.

In this essay I have tried to argue, by examining one regional case, that the standard way we tell and understand the encounter of Jain and Hindu religious traditions simplifies and distorts. The issue here is not simply a matter of reintegrating Jains and Jainism into Indian history as another religious minority with a separate, distinct identity within the rainbow coalition of Indic religions. More significantly, retelling the encounter of Jains and Hindus as a recurrent, shifting phenomenon in Indian religious history can alter and enrich the way we understand the development of Hindu traditions as well, and can lead us also to question the historical value of the category "Hindu" itself.

Post-World War II Western scholarship on Indian religious history has by and large not sufficiently explored interactions among religious traditions in India. Students of Hinduism have most often treated it as a self-contained religious formation unfolding from its own impetus, without serious consideration of other contesting schools of thought within its cultural ambit. In part this has come about through advances in scholarly knowledge of individual religious traditions, leading to greater linguistic demands on specialists in those fields. Buddhist studies, for instance, has constituted itself as a separate field, and the well-trained scholar of Indian Buddhism is asked to learn not only Sanskrit and Pali, but also Tibetan and Japanese. Likewise, the student who learns the Persian, Arabic, Urdu, and perhaps Turkish necessary to study late medieval Islam in North India is not left with much time to learn Sanskrit and the various Indo-Aryan vernaculars needed to explore the larger cultural context in which Indo-Muslims operated. Specialization and language training undoubtedly allow greater sophistication in looking at individual traditions in their own internal variety. Yet, there is the danger that we lose sight of the complex ways in which these traditions interact and the ways these interactions are themselves constitutive. The challenging, borrowing, contradicting, polemicizing, appropriating, and modifying that goes on across religious boundaries, and even the constructing and subverting of these boundaries, are ongoing dynamic processes that give both form and content to the religious history of India.

We may well accept the critique of essentialism in religious studies that Wilfred Cantwell Smith (1964) and many others have articulated, yet our scholarly practice often moves in the opposite direction. We find it difficult to escape the traditional reifications taught and inscribed in our surveys of Indian religions. Without an alternative paradigm or model, we remain unable to describe the multiple, contentious, shifting, argumentative, hierarchizing, yet also incorporative

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and pluralistic religious environment we glimpse behind the texts we read. This volume of essays addressing Jains in their myriad interrelationships with other Indian religions does not offer a new paradigm, but we hope it provides a point of reference for developing one, for thinking about what it might look like.

## Notes

1. Inscriptional evidence for the early presence of Jains in Tamilnad is discussed in Mahadevan 1970, 12-14.
2. This is not the only polemic of the period, of course. In fact, the fifth through seventh centuries offers a kind of golden age in Tamil religious polemical literature. Among the Vasnava Alvars, Tirumankai Alvar was the most ardent propagandist; see Hardy 1983. Richman 1988 treats the sixth century epic poem *Manimekhalai* as a Buddhist polemical text. Unfortunately, no work has been done on Jain polemical writing of this period, to my knowledge.
3. I use this term as Ronald Inden has adapted it from the work of R. G. Colling-wood. See Inden 1990, 22-27.
4. See Davis 1991, 83-111 for the Saiva Siddhanta account of the soul's passage from bondage to liberation.
5. For instance, *Saivaparibhasa* of Sivagrayogin, 5:27. See Suryanarayana Sastri 1982, 340.
6. *Somasambhupaddhati* 3:9.6-17. In her introductory discussion (xlviii-xlix), Brunner-Lachaux notes that this ritual procedure appears to have fallen into neglect sometime shortly after Somasambhu, and is not included in most subsequent texts, which suggests a decline in the need for conversions after the eleventh century in southern India.
7. The most widely read version of this historical outline is Embree 1988. I have recently been guilty of the same narrative strategy, in Davis 1995.

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